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References to S. H. Nasr's writings at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*

CHAPTER 13(*a*)

PHILOSOPHY AND COSMOLOGY

To discuss philosophy and cosmology in Persia from the rise of Islam to the Saljuq period is almost synonymous with studying the first phase in the development of Islamic philosophy and cosmology itself. During the first four centuries of Islam the most important intellectual centres wherein such branches of the intellectual sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿaqliyya*) as philosophy were cultivated were either Baghdad, Kūfa and Baṣra, on the border between Arab and Persian worlds, or the cities of Persia itself, especially those of Khurāsān. During this period only a few centres outside of these areas, such as those of Fāṭimid Egypt, were of any significance for the development of Islamic philosophy, and even there Persian elements were far from being absent. Therefore, in order not to repeat and summarize in a few pages the genesis and early history of Islamic philosophy in general, we shall seek to concentrate more on the distinctly Persian elements and also on lesser known schools of Islamic philosophy associated with the Persian world. Such important figures as the Arab al-Kindī we shall therefore have to leave aside, although he is in a sense the founder of Islamic philosophy, and the later stages of its development would not be comprehensible without him. Likewise Fārābī, although from Khurāsān, we shall discuss only in passing, for he also has been treated amply in many studies. Of the well-known Peripatetics of the early period, only Ibn Sīnā will be treated more fully, because in addition to the fact that he has played a central rôle in Islamic philosophy in general, the whole later intellectual life of Islamic Persia would be inconceivable without him.

The Persians played a central rôle in the elaboration of Islamic philosophy from the very beginning, and Persia was destined to become the main home and theatre of activity of this aspect of Islamic culture throughout history. During the period of the assimilation of the early sciences by Islam most of the translators were Christians of Mesopotamian or Syrian background, but the Persians also played an important rôle. More and more today the importance of later Sāsānian philosophical works, in origin either Pahlavī or ultimately Greek rendered into Pahlavī, is evident, and such works must be considered an important

component in the formation of Islamic philosophy. Moreover, the Persian translators and the whole class of secretaries (*kātibs* or *dabīrs*) who cultivated philosophy were important in creating the new style of philosophical prose in Arabic. The rôle of Ibn al-Muqaffa' was particularly central in this connection, and he as well as other members of his school did much to form a new technical vocabulary and style which helped to make Arabic the major world language of philosophical discourse for many centuries. The Persians played an important rôle in the development of Arabic philosophical vocabulary not only at its genesis but also throughout its later history, and they are the authors of most Islamic philosophical works even in the Arabic language. Throughout Islamic history they have used Arabic as a vehicle for their thoughts and only after the 4th/10th century did they begin to develop Persian as a language for traditional philosophical discourse.

The early history of Islamic philosophy and theology (*Kalām*) during the 3rd/9th century is connected with the cities of Baghdad, Baṣra and Kūfa, in all three of which the Arab and Persian elements were mixed, such that it is often difficult to separate them. It can in fact be said that the Islamic sciences were founded by the co-operation of these two major elements of Islamic civilization, the Arabs being more devoted to kalām and the Persians to the intellectual sciences including philosophy, although as mentioned earlier there were Arabs like al-Kindī who played a major rôle in the cultivation of philosophy, and Persians who were outstanding among the Mu'tazilī and later Ash'arī theologians. It is only later, in the 4th/10th century, when the centre of philosophical activity shifts from Baghdad to Khurāsān, that the Persian element becomes more distinct.

Usually in discussing the early period of Islamic philosophy attention is focused on the Peripatetic (*mashshā'ī*) school that dominated the scene. In actuality the situation was much more complex than most studies would indicate. There were many tendencies and schools, of which the Peripatetic is but one branch, albeit an outstanding one. There was the Hermetic school associated at the beginning with the city of Ḥarrān and later with Jābir b. Ḥayyān and his school, which left an important effect upon certain branches of Shī'ī theology, both Imāmī and Ismā'īlī. There was the Neopythagorean element which manifested itself in the works of different authors such as the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' without developing into a completely distinct school of its own. There was the Ismā'īlī school of philosophy, which developed parallel with the Peripatetic but

which is hardly ever considered in the general works on Islamic philosophy. In all of these schools and tendencies as well as in Ṣūfism, Kalām and many of the lesser-known fields, the Persians played a notable rôle, so that in any comprehensive study of philosophy in Islamic Persia all of these schools must be taken into account.

The first person mentioned in traditional sources as having devoted himself to philosophy in the Islamic period is Abu'l-'Abbās Īrānshahrī, who flourished in the 3rd/9th century and came from the vicinity of Nīshāpūr. Nothing is known of his life and works save for a few quotations found in the writings of such later authors as Bīrūnī, who cites his name many times in the *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, *Taḥqīq mā li'l-Hind* and *al-Āṯār al-bāqiya*, and Nāṣir-i Khusrau, who refers to him several times in his *Zād al-musāfirīn*.[1] From these sources we learn that he was well versed in astronomy and philosophy. According to Nāṣir-i Khusrau he was the teacher of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' Rāzī. Nāṣir-i Khusrau calls both of them "followers of the school of *hylé*" (*aṣḥāb-i hayūlā*) but respects Īrānshahrī's synthesis of philosophy and religion whereas he attacks Rāzī violently. We also learn from the same source that Īrānshahrī composed two books called *Jalīl* and *Aṯīr* on philosophy and that he considered space (*makān*) to be eternal and the external manifestation of the power of God. The author of the work on religions called *Bayān al-adyān* adds that Īrānshahrī claimed to be a prophet among the Persians and brought a book in the language of an angel called Being (*hastī*)![2]

This sketchy information may not lead us far in understanding the teachings or the influence of Īrānshahrī. It does show, however, the significance of this forgotten figure as the first person in the Islamic period to have become interested in philosophy, which was soon to find its first systematic expositor in the figure of Kindī. Īrānshahrī's name, moreover, is symbolic in the sense that in addition to referring to the name of a place near Nīshāpūr from which he hailed, it means one from the "land of Iran", which was to become the heartland for the later development of Islamic philosophy.

The written record of Islamic philosophy begins with the "philosopher of the Arabs" Abū Ya'qūb al-Kindī, who wrote extensive treatises in Arabic on philosophy and the sciences during the 3rd/9th

[1] See M. Mīnuvī, "Abu'l-'Abbās Īrānshahrī", *RFLM*, vol. 1, nos. 2–3 (1344/1966), pp. 133–9; M. Mohaghegh, pp. 16–19.

[2] See editions of this work by M. T. Dānishpazhūh in *Farhang-i Irānzamīn*, vol. x (Tehrān, 1341/1963), pp. 283ff. and Hāshim Raḍī (Tehrān, 1342/1964), p. 67.

century, relying most of all on the translations of Syriac scholars as well as of course on Islamic sources. For reasons already mentioned we must pass over this astounding figure in our present study. His famous students, however, who were nearly all Persians, must be mentioned if we are to understand the link between Kindī and the remarkable flowering of intellectual activity during the following century.

Among Kindī's most famous associates are the two Balkhī's, Abū Zaid and Abū Ma'shar. Both are better known in geography and astronomy and astrology than in philosophy but they were also knowledgeable in the latter field. Abū Zaid was highly reputed by his contemporaries as an outstanding philosopher who harmonized religion and philosophy. He was the greatest scholar of his day, of the same stature as Jāḥiẓ and Abū Ḥanīfa Dīnawarī.[1] As for Abū Ma'shar, although celebrated as the foremost authority on astrology in East and West, he was also thoroughly acquainted with both Hermetic and Aristotelian philosophy and it was in fact through the Latin translation of his *al-Mudkhal al-kabīr*, known as "Introductorium in astronomiam Albumasaris Abalachii octo continens libros partiales", that Aristotelian philosophy was introduced to the West for the first time.

Probably Kindī's most important disciple in the domain of philosophy was Aḥmad b. Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī from Khurāsān, who was born between 218/833 and 222/837 and died in 286/899, according to some sources by suicide. Although well-known in his own lifetime, having been the instructor to the 'Abbāsid prince al-Mu'taḍid, even becoming his boon companion (*nadīm*) when the prince became caliph and being given charge of some state duties by him, he fell from favour late in life and was imprisoned. This fact may have contributed to his becoming rapidly forgotten; even his works, of which there were many, were mostly lost or neglected. Enough has been recounted of them, however, to enable us to reconstruct an image of him. He wrote in nearly every field, following the example of his teacher. His writings embraced religion, philosophy and the sciences and ranged over fields as far apart as music, in which he wrote a major work, and politics, in which his *Ādāb al-mulūk* still survives. In geography and especially literature (*adab*) he had many original ideas while in philosophy he followed closely the teachings of Kindī. His tragic life coincided with the period when the intellectual climate of Baghdad was changing, preparing the

[1] See Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, *Mu'jam al-udabā'*, vol. 1 (Leipzig, 1866), p. 125 (Appendix on Aḥmad b. Dā'ūd Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī).

way for the spread of philosophy beyond the inhospitable atmosphere of the capital to the cities of Persia and especially Khurāsān, which were soon to become its new home. One of Sarakhsī's students, Rāzī, was in fact to carry the transformation to an extreme, by not only shifting the centre of intellectual activity away from Baghdad but also opposing completely the Peripatetic school of thought established by Kindī and followed by Sarakhsī.

With Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' Rāzī, the Latin Rhazes, we come face to face with a singular personality and a philosopher who holds a unique position in the annals of Islamic philosophy in the sense that he was opposed and criticized on one philosophical ground or another by nearly everyone, from the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) to the Ismā'īlī *dā'īs* or missionaries. Rāzī was born in 250/864 in Ray and died in the same city in 313/925. His career embraced several phases. Early in life he was interested in alchemy and only at a later age, in the middle of life, did he turn to medicine. He spent the first part of his life in Ray and after gaining fame as a scientist and physician went to Baghdad where he became known as the foremost authority on medicine. His knowledge in this field was proverbial even in his own day and it is in fact in the fields of medicine and alchemy that he has left his profoundest mark upon history. This aspect of his activity, however, does not concern us here and belongs to the history of science rather than to philosophy.

Rāzī was also a philosopher of note who, however, never entered the mainstream of Islamic intellectual life, precisely because of the nature of his thought, which stood against the "prophetic philosophy" characteristic of Islam as a whole. His philosophical works were in fact lost sight of for centuries and have been partially recovered only during the past decades, mostly through the efforts of P. Kraus. Rāzī was an independent figure who did not belong to any of the established schools of thought and considered himself as an equal of Plato and Aristotle, who were able to found new philosophical schools by themselves. He was given by nature to controversial questions and wrote against such theologians and philosophers as Abu'l-Qāsim Balkhī, a student of the Mu'tazilī Khayyāṭ, and Shahīd Balkhī, the famous poet and philosopher-theologian, as well as the aforementioned Sarakhsī, against whom he wrote a separate treatise.[1]

His writings in turn caused intense interest on the part of such

[1] See Mohaghegh, pp. 45–7.

outstanding scholars as Bīrūnī, who in fact wrote a catalogue of his works, as well as severe reactions from many quarters. The Ismā'īlī philosophers and theologians reacted against him most violently, and Abū Ḥātim Rāzī, Ḥamīd al-Dīn Kirmānī and Nāṣir-i Khusrau wrote a great deal about him, to the extent that their writings contain many fragments of his treatises which otherwise would have been lost. The Peripatetics such as Fārābī also criticized him as did such scientists and physicians as Ibn al-Haitham and 'Alī b. Riḍwān. The only places where he did exercise some philosophical influence were among a few Shī'ī theologians, who adopted his theory of pleasure, and also among later Ismā'īlīs, inasmuch as his writings on alchemy, in spite of his difference of view on their interpretation, entered into the Jabirean corpus, to which was wed the Hermeticism that had been integrated into the Islamic perspective following the period of translation in the 2nd/8th century.

Over two hundred works by Rāzī dealing with nearly every branch of learning have been mentioned in various traditional sources. As far as those on philosophy and related subjects are concerned, some of the most important titles include *al-Madkhal ila'l-manṭiq* and *Kitāb al-burhān* in logic; *Sam' al-kiyān*, *Fi'l-zamān wa'l-makān* and *Fi'l-lidhdha* in natural philosophy; *al-Nafs al-ṣaghīr*, *al-Nafs al-kabīr*, *al-Shukūk 'alā Abarqalus*, *al-Shukūk 'alā Jālīnūs*, *Maidān al-'aql*, *al-'Ilm al-ilāhī*, *al-Ṣīrat al-falsafiyya* and *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* in philosophy, of which the last three are particularly important for our understanding of Rāzī's thought. Many of these treatises are lost and only segments can be recovered from the works of later authors. Such is the case with the major opus, *al-'Ilm al-ilāhī*, parts of which can be found in Nāṣir-i Khusrau's *Zād al-musāfirīn* and some of the other later philosophical works.

The most characteristic features of Rāzī's philosophy are his "five eternal principles" (*al-qudamā' al-khamsa*) and his theory of the nature and history of the soul, a theory which displays gnostic tendencies and is related to his conception of nature. The five principles, consisting of the Creator, Soul, Matter, Time and Space, are well known and reflect both the influence of Manichaeism and of Plato's *Timaeus* and its later commentaries. Rāzī's belief in a Creator (*bāri'*) was firm but the other four "principles" stood co-eternal with him. Rāzī believed in both a partial or limited space and an absolute one. Likewise, following both Plato and possibly Zurvanite and Manichaean models, he distinguished between limited and absolute time, the latter being con-

ceived as a substance independent of matter and equal to eternity or *dahr*, which was the same as the Greek *aion*.

As for matter, Rāzī expounded an original atomistic theory differing completely from the atomism of the theologians (*mutakallimūn*) as well as from the well-known atomism of Democritus. For Rāzī atoms possess extension and mix in a void to produce the five elements.[1] They thus differ from the *juz' lā yatajazzā'* of the mutakallimūn which is devoid of extension. Whether this atomism came from Buddhist sources as thought by Pines or from late and unknown interpretations of the school of Democritus as believed by H. A. Wolfson, there is no doubt that it represents one of the most interesting forms of atomism in Islamic philosophy.

Rāzī's theory of the soul, in contrast to other aspects of his philosophy, which have a "materialistic" tinge, reflects mystical interpretations of the entanglement of the soul in the prison of the body. According to Rāzī the soul wanted to unite with matter in order to produce forms that would be the source of bodily enjoyment. Matter, however, refused to participate in this union. The Creator then created this world with lasting forms in order to enable this enjoyment to take place. The soul, however, possesses life but not knowledge, through which it could discern its own situation. Therefore, from his own divinity the Creator produced the intellect (*al-'aql*) and sent it into this world in order to awaken the soul from its dream and redeem it from the prison of matter into which it has fallen. And this takes place only through the use of the intellect in philosophy. For Rāzī, therefore, philosophy has a redeeming and salvatory character.

Strangely enough it is just this belief in the presence of the intellect within all men that turned Rāzī against the belief in the necessity of revealed religion and prophets. For Rāzī, since all men possess this intellect and are equal in this respect, there is no need for prophets and they cannot have spiritual superiority over other men. It was this aspect of Rāzī's thought, contained in his two books *Fi'l-nubuwwāt* and *Fī ḥiyal al-mutanabbiyyīn*, that was most violently attacked by all Islamic philosophers and theologians, from Bīrūnī to Abū Ḥātim. In fact later texts of Islamic theology, continuing to the present day, contain chapters devoted expressly to the refutation of the theses of Rāzī and Ibn al-Rāwandī on the denial of the necessity of prophecy.

[1] See S. Pines, Chapter 2.

In ethics Rāzī was much influenced by Socrates, whom he deeply respected. His *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī* and *al-Ṣīrat al-falsafiyya* contain the major theses of his ethical theory, of which the most notable feature perhaps is his well-known theory of pleasure, according to which pleasure is nothing more than a return to normal conditions.

Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, the second major figure of the Peripatetic school after Kindī, has also been treated so often elsewhere that we need only to review rapidly his specific significance for the tradition of Islamic philosophy in Persia. Fārābī, who lived from around 257/870 until 339/950, spent half of his life in Khurāsān and the other half in Baghdad and Aleppo. This fact in itself indicates the importance that Khurāsān was beginning to gain in the field of intellectual activity, to such an extent that a generation after Fārābī it, rather than Baghdad, became the central arena for Islamic philosophy.

Fārābī is becoming recognized, even more than Kindī, as the real founder of Islamic philosophy, and a great deal of attention has been focused upon him of late. His logical works, both in the form of original treatises and commentaries upon the *Organon* of Aristotle, set the foundations for logic among the Muslims. His combining of the political thought of Plato, the ethics of Aristotle and Islamic political theory in several works, of which the *Ārā' ahl al-madīnat al-fāḍila* is the most important, has established him as the founder of Islamic political philosophy. His attempt to harmonize the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle in *al-Jam' bain ra'yai al-ḥakīmain Aflāṭūn al-ilāhī wa Arisṭū* set a tendency that was pursued by most of the later Muslim philosophers, while he discussed the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle separately and in greater depth in other treatises. His *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikma*, also attributed by some to Ibn Sīnā, has been studied in the Islamic world for a millennium and has been a major source for Islamic philosophical terminology. It has also combined gnosis and philosophy in a remarkable way.

Finally, in the domain of metaphysics Fārābī was the author of major works, of which the *Kitāb al-ḥurūf* is particularly significant for an understanding of his ontology. He also wrote the commentary on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, entitled *Aghrāḍ mā ba'd al-ṭabī'a*, which, although short, deeply influenced Ibn Sīnā in the latter's understanding of Aristotle. Through the later Peripatetics and especially Ibn Sīnā, Fārābī became a permanent influence upon all later Islamic philosophy and a figure who must be taken into consideration in any study of the

many facets of Islamic philosophy as it developed from the 4th/10th century onward.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-'Āmirī is certainly the most important figure between Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā, although he was soon to become over-shadowed by the towering figure of the latter. Born early in the 4th/10th century in Nīshāpūr, he studied most likely with Abū Zaid Balkhī and spent most of his life in his home province. He visited Baghdad in 364/974–5 but did not like the city and therefore soon returned to Nīshāpūr where he died in 381/991. He was held in great respect by his contemporaries and is cited often by Sijistānī, Tauḥīdī, Muskūya and many other later philosophers. In his *Milal wa niḥal* Shahristānī calls him one of the great philosophers of Islam, and the title "Master of Philosophers" (*ṣāḥib al-falāsifa*) was bestowed upon him.

At least twenty-three works by 'Āmirī have been cited.[1] Only recently, however, have some of his works, such as *al-I'lām bi manāqib al-islām* on the defence of Islam and *al-Sa'āda wa'l-is'ād* on ethics, been published. His major history of philosophy, *al-Amad 'ala'l-abad*, remains to be edited as do several other of his works. He also wrote the *Manāhij al-dīn* on Ṣūfism, which influenced Kalābādhī in his *al-Ta'arruf*, commentaries upon Aristotle, *al-Fuṣūl fī ma'ālim al-ilāhiyya* and *Farrukh-nāma-yi yūnān dastūr*, this last in Persian.

'Āmirī must be noted for his political theory, in which he was influenced not only by Greek sources but also by Persian material of the pre-Islamic period, for his strong defence of Islam, unique in its tone and argument among the Peripatetic philosophers, and for certain strictly philosophical and metaphysical views such as the unity of the intellect and the intelligible. Although attacked by Ibn Sīnā and thereby eclipsed by this powerful figure who was to succeed him on the philosophical scene, 'Āmirī continued to be studied and quoted by the later philosophers, and even as late as the Ṣafavid period such a figure as Mullā Ṣadrā quotes him several times in his *Asfār*. Through his works and his students, of whom Ibn Hindū was the most important, 'Āmirī left a greater impact upon Islamic philosophy than has been realized until now, and he is one of the early Islamic philosophers most deserving to be studied more closely.

Although after the first few decades of the 4th/10th century Khurāsān became the main focus and centre of Islamic philosophy, Baghdad

[1] See M. Mīnuvī, "Az khazā'in-i turkiyya", *RFLT*, vol. IV, no. 3 (1336), pp. 60–83.

continued to be an important centre of intellectual life to the very end of the century. During the second half of the 4th/10th century the philosophical scene in Baghdad was dominated by a Persian originating from Sīstān, Abū Sulaimān al-Sijistānī, entitled Manṭiqī. This title, which means "logician", is indicative of his powers in the domain of logic. In fact the Baghdad school of Peripatetic philosophy during the latter part of the 4th/10th century turned more and more toward an interest in logic to the detriment of other aspects of philosophy.

Sijistānī trained many students and was the leading figure in the intellectual circles of Baghdad, which were visited by many important figures such as ʿĀmirī and the authors of the *Rasā'il* of the Brethren of Purity. Perhaps this contact with so many different scholars was one of the reasons that led Sijistānī to compose the very important *Ṣiwān al-ḥikma* on the history of philosophy from the beginning until his own time. This work, complemented by Baihaqī's *Tatimma ṣiwān al-ḥikma*, remains to this day one of the basic sources for our knowledge of early Islamic philosophy.

The record of the philosophical sessions revolving around Sijistānī is to be found in the works of his disciple, Abū Ḥayyān Tauḥīdī, who was a Ṣūfī and also a literary figure of much talent. His *al-Imtāʿ wa'l-mu'ānasa* and *Muqābasāt* mirror the rich and diversified intellectual life of Baghdad of the late 4th/10th century. Although not a noted philosopher himself, Tauḥīdī remains, nevertheless, a key figure for an understanding of the intellectual life of that period.

During the last decades of the 4th/10th century there appeared a collection of fifty-one treatises dealing with nearly all fields of knowledge and known as the *Rasā'il* of the Brethren of Purity (Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'). This group of authors, whose identity has never become completely clear, was certainly of Shīʿī inspiration although perhaps not as specifically Ismāʿīlī as it came to be considered later. The group was also associated with a secret organization and probably had its centre of activity in Baṣra. The *Rasā'il* served as a means of disseminating the teachings of this society to a wider audience. The Ismāʿīlīs made the *Rasā'il* their own during later centuries and two treatises, *Risālat al-jāmiʿa* and *Jāmiʿat al-jāmiʿa*, which were written later and contain the essence of the *Rasā'il*, were taught both esoterically and to a smaller group of Ismāʿīlī adepts.

The *Rasā'il* exercised a wide influence and were read by most of the later Muslim intellectual figures, from Ghazzālī to Ibn ʿArabī to Mullā

Ṣadrā. Because of their simple exposition of the sciences and philosophy and also because of their attempt to harmonize philosophy and religion they attracted much attention almost immediately after their dissemination. The *Rasā'il* expound a Neopythagorean philosophy combined with Peripatetic tenets and of course Islamic teachings. They are related, therefore, to early Peripatetic philosophy as well as to Jābir and early Hermeticism, not to speak of the Sabaeans, from whose teachings they must have also drawn. Here it should be remembered that the Sabaeans of Ḥarrān were the heirs to late Greek Neopythagoreanism and Hermeticism.

The backbone of the philosophy of the *Rasā'il* is a numerical symbolism and mathematical theory which sees numbers and figures in a Pythagorean manner, not only as quantity but also as symbols of metaphysical realities and principles of things. The sciences are integrated into the religious point of view through the symbolic aspect of these sciences. The *Rasā'il* present a synthesis of the knowledge of the day and at the same time one of the best-known efforts made during the 4th/10th century to harmonize religion and philosophy. Considering the comprehensive nature of the *Rasā'il*, their simple style of exposition and the crucial questions discussed by their authors, it is not surprising that Peripatetic philosophers, theologians and Ṣūfīs, men from all shades within the wide spectrum of Islamic intellectual life, came to read and be influenced by them.

One of the notable figures of the 4th/10th century, at once philosopher and historian, is Abū 'Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ya'qūb Muskūya, known usually by the Arabic form of his name, Miskawaih. It is not certain whether he was a Zoroastrian converted to Islam or belonged to a Muslim family that had been converted generations before.[1] There is also a debate as to whether his real name was Muskūya (Miskawaih) or Ibn Muskūya (Miskawaih). Muskūya was born in 325/936 in Ray. He later went to Baghdad where he frequented the circle of Sijistānī and became a close associate of the vizier al-Muhallabī. During this period he led a life of pleasure and composed mundane poetry. But upon the death of al-Muhallabī he changed his way of life. He returned to Ray to join the circle of Ibn al-'Amīd, whom he served as librarian. There he studied deeply in a rich library in that city and underwent a

[1] These two views are to be found in M. Arkoun, *Contribution à l'étude de l'humanisme arabe au IVe/Xe siècle: Miskawayh philosophe et historien* (Paris, 1970), the most extensive and scholarly work on Muskūya to date; and M. Abdul Haq Ansari, *The Ethical Philosophy of Miskawaih* (Aligarh, 1964).

transformation in his outlook. In 365/976 he returned to Baghdad to serve the Būyid ruler ʿAḍud al-Daula as librarian and ambassador. Only in 372/983 after the death of ʿAḍud al-Daula did he begin to study philosophy. Later he joined the service of the Khwārazm-Shāh as physician and there he met Ibn Sīnā. Finally at the age of ninety-six he died in Iṣfahān in 421/1030, having spent decades in scholarly activity and having lived a life of virtue after turning away from the life of pleasure of his early years.

Muskūya was interested in alchemy and medicine, for both of which he has been remembered in later Islamic history. But his reputation rests most of all on his historical masterpiece *Tajārib al-umam* and his philosophical works such as the *Tartīb al-saʿādāt wa manāẓil al-ʿulūm* on the classification of the sciences, *al-Fauẓ al-aṣghar*, *al-Fauẓ al-akbar* and *al-Ḥawāmil wa'l-shawāmil* on theological problems and his two most famous ethical treatises, *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq* and *Jāvīdān khirad*.

The most lasting contribution of Muskūya was in the field of ethics. Following the example of ʿĀmirī and some of the other earlier authors, he elaborated a philosophical ethics based upon the teachings of Islam, the philosophy of Plato and that of Aristotle, the latter two seen in the light of late Greek philosophy, especially the works of Galen. The *Tahdhīb al-akhlāq*, which contains this synthesis, reveals also certain novel features originating with Muskūya himself. Muskūya revived the importance of *eros*, which Aristotle had neglected, and applied it in new ways. He also spoke of the love between the spiritual teacher and the disciple in a way that is not found in Greek sources but which is to be seen later in the Christian West. One can also see the influence of certain pre-Islamic Iranian elements in Muskūya, both in the *Tahdhīb* and especially in the *Jāvīdān khirad*, whose very title indicates its relation with the wisdom (*khirad*) of the ancient Persians. The text as well speaks of the wisdom of the Persians of old going back to Hūshang. This work, written in Arabic despite its Persian title, is one of the important sources of the Islamic period containing the ethical aphorisms and sayings which were the principles of the ethical teachings of the ancient Persians. Muskūya has lived in later Islamic history – and especially in Persia – not only because of his *Tahdhīb* but especially as a result of the paraphrase of this work in Nāṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, which is without doubt the best-known work of philosophical ethics in the Persian language.

Although Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī (362/973–442/1051) belongs more

to the history of Islamic science than to philosophy, it is not possible to pass over him in silence when discussing the latter field. Through his studies of chronology as in *al-Āṯhār al-bāqiya* and his incomparable study of India in *Taḥqīq ma li'l-Hind* we can learn something of his philosophical outlook as a Muslim scientist who combined a keen sense of observation with a power of critical and rational analysis and who was at the same time open to the verities of revelation and intuition. But it is especially in his questions and answers exchanged with Ibn Sīnā that one can measure Bīrūnī's philosophical importance as a most powerful mind who judges clearly and independently and is at the same time a critic of the prevalent Peripatetic philosophy. Bīrūnī must in fact be considered as one of the chief critics of Aristotelian natural philosophy in the Middle Ages.

Bīrūnī's works are also important in the field of comparative religion, of which he may in a sense be considered the founder. In this domain he was not only an observer of facts but also possessed a metaphysical perspective which enabled him to be an acute observer and student of religions other than his own. Although he did not write independent philosophical treatises, this intellectual figure of first magnitude wrote enough pages of philosophical significance within his other works to qualify him as an important philosophical figure of his period, one who did not, however, identify himself completely with any of the well-established schools of his day.

Few men have left as profound an effect upon their civilization and its subsequent history as Ibn Sīnā has left upon Islamic civilization, especially in its Persian zone. An extraordinary genius gifted at the same time with the power of synthesis and analysis, and possessing unusual physical and mental powers, he was able to achieve a lasting synthesis in the domains of both philosophy and medicine. No intellectual figure in the subsequent history of Islam can be said to have been totally free of his influence, whether that figure be a physician or a logician. Even the theologians and other authorities in the religious sciences adopted some of the basic tenets of his metaphysical doctrines.

Ibn Sīnā, who was born in 370/980 and died in 428/1037, lived during a tumultuous period of Persian history. His birthplace of Bukhārā and the adjacent areas underwent not only a political but also an ethnological transformation with the coming of the Turkish Ghaznavids, who were to replace the Sāmānids. Forced to leave his home at the early age of twenty-one he wandered during the rest of his life from one Būyid

capital to another making his livelihood as a physician and occasionally as a statesman and vizier. The longest period of relative peace in a life otherwise punctuated by unrest and uncertainty was the nine years spent at the court of 'Alā' al-Daula in Iṣfahān. But even this short calm was to be broken abruptly by the invasion of that city by Maḥmūd of Ghazna's son, Mas'ūd. Having spent his energies all too freely and excessively, Ibn Sīnā burned out the candle of his life much more rapidly than would be expected for a man of his unusual physical stamina and died at the age of fifty-seven in Hamadān.[1]

The exceptional power of concentration and intellectual insight of Ibn Sīnā were such that they could not be eclipsed even by the hectic life that he was destined to lead. Already well-known as a physician at the age of sixteen and a master of the traditional sciences by eighteen, he entered maturity fully equipped from an intellectual point of view, and as he was to write in his autobiography, which he dictated to his favourite disciple, Abū 'Ubaid al-Juzjānī, he knew as much in breadth at the age of eighteen as he did at the end of his life. Only the depth of his knowledge had increased.

One of Ibn Sīnā's chief characteristics was his insatiable thirst to know and to perfect himself through knowledge. There was no form of science, from logic and mathematics to pure metaphysics, from prosody to Qur'anic commentary, that did not attract his attention. In fact he was to make major contributions to every branch of the "intellectual sciences" save perhaps certain branches of mathematics, in which his chief contribution is limited to musical theory and the philosophy of mathematics. Characteristic of his quest after totality and perfection was his attitude toward Arabic. Criticized by some scholars that his philosophical works such as the *Shifā'* were written in the style of "Persian Arabic" (*'ajamī* in both senses of the word), Ibn Sīnā spent much effort and time while in Iṣfahān to perfect his Arabic style. As a result of this period of study he was able to compose a long work on the Arabic language, which is now lost. But the fruit of this effort is to be seen in the much more refined prose style of his last works, such as the *Ishārāt*.

Ibn Sīnā wrote over two hundred works, many of which still survive, and yet despite his fame all of them have not been studied. Aside from the scientific and medical works of which the best known is the *Qānūn*

[1] Some claim that he died in Iṣfahān. There is an *Imāmzāda* in that city which a few scholars of Iṣfahān claim to be his tomb.

or "Canon", the *summa* of classical Islamic medicine, his philosophical works alone comprise over a hundred treatises. These works range from the monumental *al-Shifā'*, known in Latin through its partial translation as "Sufficientia", to short questions and answers and essays devoted to a single philosophical, theological or metaphysical subject. The *Shifā'*, consisting of four books devoted to logic, natural philosophy, mathematics and metaphysics, contains in reality the sum of his Peripatetic philosophy, into which all the natural and mathematical sciences known at that time have been integrated. Throughout the millennium that has followed its composition it has remained the most advanced text of mashshā'ī philosophy and still today it is studied and taught in the *madrasas* of Persia.

It is in this work and its briefer version, *al-Najāt*, as well as in the numerous treatises which develop individual arguments of these more comprehensive works, that one finds that classical formulation of Islamic Peripatetic philosophy which began with Kindī and reached its maturity with Ibn Sīnā himself. The persistent concern with ontology, to the extent that Ibn Sīnā has been called most of all a "philosopher of being", is to be seen in these works. The whole of his metaphysical exposition rests upon the fundamental distinction between Being (*wujūd*) and essence or quiddity (*māhiyya*) and the tripartite division of Being (*wujūd*) into the Necessary (*wājib*), the possible (*mumkin*) and the impossible (*mumtani'*). Upon this division is based Ibn Sīnā's cosmology which is closely wed to the concept of a hierarchical Universe beginning with God and the series of intelligences (*'uqūl*) and including an angelology, again related to the separate intelligences which act as the source of both knowledge and existence in the sub-lunary world. Likewise, Ibn Sīnā develops a psychology based upon Neoplatonic interpretations of Aristotle's *De Anima* that is again closely related to his ontology and also reveals Islamic, Neoplatonic and Aristotelian influences.

It was characteristic of Ibn Sīnā that once having attained the summit of this rational knowledge, which, since it was based upon correct intuitions, became the most plausible and legitimate form of rational philosophy, he should seek to transcend his very synthesis by reaching for the unlimited horizons of the "theosophy of illumination". During his later life Ibn Sīnā wrote the *Manṭiq al-mashriqiyyīn* in which he announced his "philosophy for the elite" (*khawāṣṣ*). Although the major portion of this telling document seems to have been lost, enough

material has remained in the form of the visionary recitals, the masterly *al-Iṣhārāt wa'l-tanbīhāt* – his last major work – and certain other pieces, to enable us to reconstruct the "oriental philosophy" toward which he turned later in life.

A philosophy, or more strictly speaking a theosophy (*theosophia* in its original Greek sense and not the modern deformation), in which knowledge and experience were wed and which led to an immediate experience of the supra-formal states of being, the "Oriental philosophy" of Ibn Sīnā was of utmost importance in the later intellectual life of Islamic Persia. It marked the first step in the direction which was to be followed with such remarkable results a century and a half later by the "Master of Illumination", Suhravardī.

Ibn Sīnā was also important for the later intellectual life of Persia in another sense. He was the first to have attempted to write Peripatetic philosophy in Persian. His *Dānish-nāma-yi 'alā'ī*, which is more or less a Persian version of the *Najāt*, was beset by great difficulties of language and did not succeed in becoming a popular work in the Persian speaking world, as perhaps the author had hoped. But together with Bīrūnī's Persian *al-Tafhīm* and a few other works of the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries it prepared the ground for making Persian a major intellectual language of the Islamic world. Without these early efforts the Persian writings of Suhravardī, Afḍal al-Dīn al-Kāshānī, Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī and others would have been hardly possible.

Ibn Sīnā also trained a whole group of capable students who carried his teachings into the latter part of the 5th/11th century and kept the torch of Peripatetic philosophy burning, albeit dimly, until its revival by Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī. Among Ibn Sīnā's foremost students must be mentioned Jūzjānī, who completed several of the master's works and accompanied him throughout his life; Bahmanyār, the author of the *Taḥṣīl*, a major Peripatetic work; Ma'ṣūmī, who was respected as Ibn Sīnā's most learned student; and Ibn Zaila, who commented upon the master's more esoteric treatises. Such men as Khayyām and Lūkarī were second generation students of Ibn Sīnā through the above-named figures. The "Prince of Physicians" and the master of the Peripatetics was thus to leave through his works and his students a permanent hegemony in the intellectual life of Islam.

Parallel with the well-known Peripatetic school, which culminated with Ibn Sīnā, there developed during the early centuries of Islam a most elaborate cosmology and metaphysics connected with Ismā'īlism

that has not received the attention it deserves until now. While during this period Twelve-Imām Shī'ism was concerned mostly with the collection of *ḥadīṯhs* and the other religious sciences, as witnessed in the monumental works of Shaikh Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, Kulainī and Ibn Babūya, Ismā'īlism was elaborating its great metaphysical expositions. Of course there is not just one Ismā'īlī philosophy but at least three schools, usually named the Fāṭimid, the Yemenī and the Alamūt. However the Fāṭimid school contains the basis for all later Ismā'īlī philosophical and theological speculations of both the Yemenī and Alamūt branches. And as far as the Fāṭimid school is concerned, except for Qāḍī Nu'mān all of its important figures were Persian, and together they produced the earliest corpus of philosophical writings in the Persian language, although they of course also wrote much in Arabic.

The earliest Ismā'īlī philosophical work – the term philosophy being used here in its traditional and Islamic context as *Ḥikmat* – is the *Umm al-kitāb*, dating probably to the 3rd/9th century. This work, which is still considered as a sacred text by the Ismā'īlīs of the Pamirs, displays a strong belief in the "five principles" for which the Ismā'īlīs were called *al-mukhammasa* (literally "the fivers") and reveals at the same time Manichaean influences. The author of this famous text with gnostic colour is unknown, but it reveals the earliest stages in the elaboration of Ismā'īlī theosophy and philosophy, which was to find many competent expositors in the 4th/10th century.

The earliest and one of the foremost of these Ismā'īlī philosophers and theologians of the 4th/10th century is Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī, who hailed from Ray and died around 322/933–34. Known especially for his refutal of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' Rāzī in his celebrated *A'lām al-nubuwwa*, he also wrote the monumental *Kitāb al-ẓīna* on theology, *Kitāb al-jāmi'* on jurisprudence, an esoteric commentary (*ta'wīl*) upon the Qur'ān and the *Iṣlāḥ*, which is the most important early systematic treatise on Ismā'īlī theology and philosophy. These works and the intense missionary activity of Abū Ḥātim were certainly very instrumental in the spread of Ismā'īlism in Persia.

Abū Ḥātim was followed by Abū Ya'qūb al-Sijistānī, who died in 408/1017 and was the author of the *Kashf al-maḥjūb*, the Persian translation of which is among the earliest examples of Persian philosophical prose. The book consists of seven chapters and each chapter of seven headings, revealing the central rôle played by the number seven in all Ismā'īlī theosophy. Although criticized by Nāṣir-i Khusrau for his

defence of transmigration, Sijistānī must be considered as one of the important successors of Abū Ḥātim along with such other celebrated Ismā'īlī missionaries (*dā'īs*) as Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nakhshabī (Nasafī), who was his near contemporary.

Another 4th/10th-century Ismā'īlī figure of interest is Abu'l-Haitham Aḥmad b. Ḥasan al-Jurjānī, known especially for his *Qaṣīda* upon which both Muḥammad b. Surkh al-Naishābūrī and Nāṣir-i Khusrau wrote commentaries. In fact he exercised much influence upon Nāṣir-i Khusrau. The *Qaṣīda* is particularly interesting for its discussion of the relation between astrology and prophetology, seen of course in the light of the cyclic doctrines of the Ismā'īlīs.

A foremost Ismā'īlī philosopher of this age and the author of the *Rāḥat al-'aql*, which many consider as the most authoritative source of Fāṭimid Ismā'īlī doctrines, is Hamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, who lived at the time of the Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim bi'llāh and was entitled *Ḥujjat al-'irāqain* because he journeyed between Iraq and "'Irāq-i 'ajam" in Persia. He composed the *Rāḥat al-'aql* in 411/1020 and died probably shortly thereafter. Altogether he wrote thirty-two works including, besides the above-mentioned masterpiece, the *Tanbīh al-hādī wa'l-mustahdī* on the esoteric meaning of ritual acts and *al-Aqwāl al-dhahabiyya* in the defence of Abū Ḥātim and criticism of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' and especially his *al-Ṭibb al-rūḥānī*. Not without reason Kirmānī has been called "the Shaikh of Ismā'īlī philosophers".[1]

The *Rāḥat al-'aql* reveals the depth of Kirmānī's knowledge of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy, the philosophy of Kindī, some of whose technical terms he employs, and the later Muslim philosophers such as Fārābī, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā and Ibn Sīnā. He presents a synthesis of the general principles of Islam, philosophy and Ismā'īlī doctrines and possesses many ideas similar to those of Ibn Sīnā. The celestial hierarchy issuing from the Divine creative act (*ibdā'*) characterizes his metaphysics and cosmology. The *Rāḥat al-'aql* is a systematic exposition of Ismā'īlī cosmology and metaphysics bringing together in a synthesis various components to be found in one form or another in the writings of the other members of this Fāṭimid school of Ismā'īlism.

A younger contemporary of Kirmānī, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, is certainly the most influential and enduring figure of Ismā'īlism in Persia. Born in Qubādhiyān near Balkh in 394/1004 in a family of government

[1] See the introduction of Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusain and Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ḥilmī to *Rāḥat al-'aql* (Cairo, 1371/1952), p. 17.

officials, he became converted to Ismā'īlism in the middle of life, probably from Twelver Shī'ism. He spent six years in Fāṭimid Cairo, having become a high official in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy, and returned to Balkh in 444/1052 to continue his activities as a missionary in Persia. He died sometime between 465/1072 and 470/1077 in Yumgān, where his tomb is still to be found today. His tomb has become over the centuries a centre of pilgrimage as the tomb of a Ṣūfī saint and its Ismā'īlī character has been forgotten.

Seventeen works are said to have been written by Nāṣir-i Khusrau, of which nine are extant. These latter include the *Dīvān*, which is one of the masterpieces of the Persian language, *Rauṣhanā'ī-nāma* (poetry), *Rauṣhanā'ī-nāma* (prose), the famous *Safar-nāma*, *Wajh-i dīn*, *Zād al-musāfirīn*, *Khwān al-ikhwān*, *Guṣhāyiṣh wa rahāyiṣh* and finally his most famous work, the *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatain*. All of these works were written in Persian and represent one of the most important corpora of Persian philosophical writings.

The *Jāmi' al-ḥikmatain* (which means literally the "sum of two wisdoms") seeks to synthesize Greek philosophy and Ismā'īlī theosophy basing itself on the *Qaṣīda* of Abu'l-Haitham alluded to above. Nāṣir-i Khusrau follows the cardinal Islamic teaching of the universality of revelation and belief in the fact that there were men of other religions before Islam who possessed knowledge of Unity (*tauḥīd*) and its mysteries. Therefore he considers the ancient sages and philosophers as among the *ḥunafā* (that is, men who possessed the doctrine of tauḥīd from primordial times) and seeks to harmonize their teachings with those of Islam and its esoteric teachings as reflected in Ismā'īlism. He thus treads a course similar to that of Fārābī but in the context of Ismā'īlī theology and philosophy.

Nāṣir-i Khusrau, like Abū Ḥātim and Kirmānī, was violently opposed to the theses of Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā' Rāzī and refuted him in many of his works. He was opposed to Rāzī especially on three points: nature, the soul and prophecy.[1] Nāṣir-i Khusrau believed that nature is engendered by the cosmic soul, possesses activity and is in fact the principle of motion and rest, in contrast to the "inert" rôle assigned to it by Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā'. Nāṣir-i Khusrau also opposed the idea of Rāzī that the soul is held captive by matter. Similarly he attacked violently the "egalitarianism" of Rāzī according to which he denied prophecy, for it stands at the antipode of Nāṣir-i Khusrau's hierarchical

[1] See Corbin's Chapter 16 below.

conception of knowledge and the esotericism which in his view is reserved for the élite.

Thanks to his poetry, which is among the best examples of religious poetry in the Persian language, as well as his prose writings, Nāṣir-i Khusrau has enjoyed wide popularity in Persia to this day and has certainly been the best-known Ismā'īlī intellectual figure during the later centuries of Persian history. As a sage whose sayings enlighten the minds of men he is hardly ever thought of as being specifically Ismā'īlī. As a technical philosopher and expositor of Ismā'īlī theosophy he has attracted, outside of the Ismā'īlī community, only the attention of the intellectual élite and the few scholars concerned with the history of Islamic philosophy and theology. This latter aspect of his writings needs to be explored much more extensively and he deserves to be known for what he is, namely one of the important philosophers of Islamic Persia, who belonged to a school of thought the significance of which has not yet become fully recognized.

After Nāṣir-i Khusrau Ismā'īlī philosophy continued to flourish for some time but its development lies outside the period with which this essay is concerned. We need only mention one Persian contemporary of Nāṣir-i Khusrau because of his eminence within the Fāṭimid school of Ismā'īlī philosophers. He is Mu'ayyad Shīrāzī, who entered Cairo in 439/1047 and died in that city in 470/1077. His works remain very popular among Ismā'īlīs to this day. These works include the *Majālis* in eight volumes and 800 discourses, *al-Majālis al-mustanṣariyya* containing the author's observations on the assemblies of al-Mustanṣir bi'llāh, his *Dīwān* and the *Jāmi' al-ḥaqā'iq*, all in Arabic. His only Persian work, the *Asās al-ta'wīl*, is a translation of one of the works of Qāḍī Nu'mān.

The metaphysical basis of the doctrines contained in the writings of the Ismā'īlī philosophers from Abū Ḥātim Rāzī to Mu'ayyad Shīrāzī is the distinction between the Source of all reality as the Absolute, that is Supra-Being or Beyond-Being, and creation, which is not an effusion but rather the result of an act of the giving of being (*ibdā'*) by this Source, who is thus called *Mubdi'*. It is this feature which especially distinguishes Ismā'īlī doctrines from those of the Peripatetics, where God is considered as Pure Being from whom the states of being emanate. For the Ismā'īlīs the *Mubdi'* is the origin of being Who through the act "be!" (*kun*) brings into being (*ibdā'*) the First Intellect, which comprises the highest state of being. From the First Intellect the

Second Intellect is brought into being and so on, each state possessing its own limit (*ḥadd*) which at the same time defines it and determines the state beyond, which the lower state aspires to attain.

In the celestial hierarchy, which is generated in a manner similar to the heavenly intellects of Ibn Sīnā after the first act of ibdā', there are ten Intellects, of which the first two together correspond in their metaphysical significance to the Reality of Muḥammad (*al-ḥaqīqat al-muḥammadiyya*) of Twelve-Imām Shī'ism and Ṣūfism. With the Third Intellect, however, an event occurs which determines all the history of the cosmos and man, for the Third Intellect, which is the "spiritual Adam" (*Ādam-i rūḥānī*) and the prototype of man, falls into a state of negligence and stupor. Once it is awakened from this state it discovers that it has been relegated to the rank of the Tenth Intellect. Henceforth it seeks to regain its original state. The creation of the cosmos is only for this purpose, and the fundamental importance of the number seven in the Ismā'īlī scheme is based on the difference in range between the Third and the Tenth Intellect. This "retardation of eternity", if it can be so called, is the prototype of time and of history, both of which are cyclic and based on the number seven.

There are seven cycles in the history of the present humanity, in each of which there are seven prophets each with seven Imāms, or several groups of seven, and the prophets and cycles alternate through periods of manifestation or "speaking" (*nāṭiq*) and occultation or "silence" (*ṣāmit*). There is created around this cyclic idea, which has its prototype in the transhistorical drama of the negligence of the "Spiritual Adam", a remarkable cosmology, prophetology and anthropology which can hardly be set aside in any serious consideration of Islamic intellectual life and which moreover represent a most important fruit of the intellectual and philosophical life of Persia during the early Islamic centuries.

In treating Islamic philosophy during the early centuries we have spoken of figures many of whom, like Kirmānī and Ibn Sīnā, have dealt extensively with cosmology. Therefore, in speaking separately about cosmology we wish only to bring out the different types of cosmology that were developed in Persia during the early Islamic centuries. Cosmology in its traditional context is the application of metaphysical principles to the domain of contingency and is therefore inseparable in any traditional civilization from the principles of the tradition in question. This holds true as much for Islam as any other

tradition. The cosmologies developed by Muslims in Persia as elsewhere are incomprehensible without recourse to the principles of Islam, of which they are applications, in the same way that the cosmology of the *Bundahiṣn* is related to Zoroastrianism. Even if the material for these cosmologies was drawn in some cases from non-Islamic sources, it was integrated into the Islamic view and was Islamized before being accepted.

With this principle in mind we can now turn, albeit briefly, to the different cosmologies developed by the Muslims. The first and most essential is of course the Qur'anic cosmology, based on the text of the Qur'ān and consisting of the *'arṣh*, the *kursī* and the angelic hierarchy with all the symbolic imagery that is connected with them in the *Ḥadīth* literature concerning cosmology. The cosmologies based on the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth were followed by many early elaborations, both Sunnī and Shī'ī. As far as Shī'ī sources are concerned the *Uṣūl al-kāfī* of Kulainī contains many pages devoted to cosmology, which were elucidated by later commentators. The Qur'anic commentaries of the early centuries, Arab and Persian alike, also developed the cosmology implicit in the Qur'anic text itself.

Inspired by the idea of Unity and the unicity of all created things as taught by the Qur'ān, many cosmologies developed which applied these principles in different ways to the levels of cosmic existence, with the purpose of bringing out their interrelatedness and hierarchical relationship. On the one hand there was the Hermetico-alchemical cosmology developed by Jābir b. Ḥayyān and based mostly on the cosmic polarization between the active and passive principles.[1] On the other hand based on the same sources as well as others, there developed the Neopythagorean cosmology of the Brethren of Purity, who also drew from Aristotelian elements. Ismā'īlī authors elaborated their own cosmology in which the states of being were correlated with the cycles of prophets and Imams, as seen in the *Rāḥat al-'aql* of Kirmānī.

There were also the Peripatetics, who expounded a cosmology which under the guidance of the Islamic principle of *tauḥīd* integrated both Aristotelian and Neoplatonic elements into its perspective. This cosmology had its genesis with Kindī and like so many other aspects of Peripatetic philosophy reached its apogee with Ibn Sīnā. Likewise, scientific cosmologies were developed by astronomers and physicists during this period, men like Thābit b. Qurra, Bīrūnī and Ibn al-

[1] See P. Kraus, *Jābir b. Ḥayyān*, vol. II (Cairo, 1942), pp. 139ff.

Haitham. These, however, were never secularized and in them the cosmos continued to be viewed in the light of metaphysical principles.

Altogether the cosmological doctrines of this period of Islamic history were inseparable from the more comprehensive metaphysical doctrines in whose bosoms they grew. And like them they acquired the colour of the particular school that nurtured them. With the coming of the Saljuqs and the emphasis upon Ash'arī kalām most of the intellectual and philosophical schools of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries suffered an eclipse. But paradoxically, enriched by the very attacks of the theologians, these schools were mostly revived in the 7th/13th century in new forms that were destined to exercise a permanent influence upon the history of Islamic Persia continuing to this day.

CHAPTER 13(*b*)

ṢŪFISM

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE ṢŪFĪ TRADITION

The spiritual transformation of a people and their participation in the life of a new spiritual universe brought into being by a fresh revelation from heaven is too profound a reality to be reduced simply to socio-political or economic factors. It involves an aspect of the destiny of that people and is ingrained as an innate possibility within the religion that embraces that nation. The Islamization of Persia presents a perfect example of such a transformation. Beyond all external causes, there existed the possibility within Islam to embrace the Persians, a possibility that had to be and in fact came to be actualized fairly rapidly. And there existed in the destiny of the Persians the necessity for such a transformation, which took place in such depth that it not only altered profoundly the later phases of Persian history, but also made the religion, culture and history of the Persians inseparably intertwined with those of the rest of the Muslim world. This sharing of a common universe of discourse with other Muslims, and particularly the Arabs, is to be seen most of all in the field of Ṣūfism which deals by definition with Divine Unity and the universal order, with the realm where man stands before God not dressed in his particular ethnic or racial garb but shrouded with the light of the spirit which dwells in him and which represents his most universal aspect.

To speak of Ṣūfism in the early period of Islamic history in Persia, therefore, is to speak of the origin of Ṣūfism itself, for nowhere is it more difficult to separate Arab and Persian elements than in the Ṣūfism of these early centuries, which flourished mostly in centres where both ethnic elements were present. In some cases such as the Ṣūfīs of Egypt like Dhu'l-Nūn or Rābi'a, who hailed from Jerusalem, or Uwais al-Qaranī who came from the Yemen, one can make categorical distinctions between Arabs and Persians; but it is not possible to understand the development of Ṣūfism in Persia itself without studying such figures. We are therefore forced to speak of early Ṣūfism itself, emphasizing, however, the schools and individuals of Persian origin or

associated with the Persian world. It might also be added that while Ṣūfism is a single tradition which cannot be segmented ethnically, particular types of ethnic genius have of course been able to find their fulfilment in Ṣūfism and to give it the different types of expression it has received in its outward manifestations in each ethnic world. The Persians in this sense have given their own characteristic features to the universal teachings of Ṣūfīs, as can be seen in later Persian Ṣūfī poetry. They also played a very important rôle in expounding the verities of Ṣūfism during the earlier centuries when the sole language of discourse was Arabic, and Persian had not as yet come into play.

To study the history of Ṣūfism in Persia during the first few centuries of Islamic history, we must turn to the study of the origin of Ṣūfism from the first decades of Islamic history. Ṣūfism, in its inner reality, and not necessarily in all the formulations it has adopted throughout its history to expound its perennial truths, is rooted in the Qur'ān and the *Sunna* and *Ḥadīṯ* of the Prophet of Islam. To become a Ṣūfī is to realize in depth the doctrine of unity (*tauḥīd*) contained in the Holy Book and to live a life based on the model of the life of the Prophet.

Ṣūfism was not the creation of any particular race, whether it be Arab, Persian or Indian, but a Divine "Mystery" contained inwardly within the Qur'anic revelation and instructed by the Prophet to a few of his choice Companions, who in turn transmitted this esoteric knowledge to their worthy students and disciples.

The word *ṣūfī* is generally said to have been used for the first time in the 2nd/8th century by Abū Hāšhim al-Ṣūfī, while according to the *Kitāb al-luma'* of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj,[1] Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who died in 110/728, had already used it in the famous sentence "I saw a Ṣūfī circumambulating . . . (*ra'aitu ṣūfiyyan fi'l-ṭawāf . . .*)". The spiritual élite in the earlier generations were called *ṣaḥābī*, then *ahl al-ṣuffa*, then *tābi'ī*, then *'ābid*, *zāhid*, *nāsik*, etc. Only in the second Islamic century did the term *ṣūfī*, whose origin has been discussed extensively in both traditional and modern sources, come to replace all these appellations and to denote in itself the class of men who devoted themselves fully to the spiritual life in Islam and after receiving initiation trod the spiritual path (*ṭarīqa*). Among the class of the earliest spiritual figures and ascetics (*zuhhād*) most were of course Arabs but there were also some Persians who in fact increased in number as the centre of Ṣūfism

[1] Ed. R. A. Nicholson (Leiden, 1914), p. 22.

became established in Baṣra and later Baghdad and Khurāsān. While Khurāsān is integrally Persian, all the activity that was carried out in Baṣra and Baghdad must also be included in any comprehensive study of Ṣūfism in the Persian world, because Arabic and Persian elements in these two centres were so mixed that it is impossible to separate them in any meaningful way.

The assertion of the truth that Ṣūfism existed from the beginning and only gained a new name in the 2nd/8th century and that it is a continuous tradition with its roots in the Qur'ān and its branches stretching over all the periods and lands of Islam, might be opposed by some who would point to the "development" of Ṣūfism from early asceticism to a mysticism of love and finally to gnosis. This apparent "development" does not however contradict the assertion, which the Ṣūfīs themselves have repeated over the ages, of the continuity of the Ṣūfī tradition and its Qur'anic roots. It is true that there is a gradual movement in the historical unfolding of Ṣūfism from the emphasis upon fear (*makhāfa*) to love (*maḥabba*), then to gnosis or sapiental knowledge (*ma'rifa*). In fact Ṣūfism in a sense recapitulates within its own history the unfolding of the ternary aspects of the Abrahamic Tradition in which Judaism emphasizes fear, Christianity love, and Islam knowledge of God. But in the same way that this emphasis does not mean exclusivity and that one finds in Judaism a place for the love and knowledge of God, in Christianity certain modes of spirituality based upon fear and knowledge, and in Islam a gnosis that is never divorced from love or fear, so does one find in Ṣūfism the presence of love and knowledge from the beginning; only the accent changes as the tradition unfolds.

From the early Mesopotamian ascetics, who emphasize the aspect of Divine Majesty and man's fear and awe before Him, to Rābi'a, Ḥallāj and Aḥmad al-Ghazzālī, who speak especially of love and finally to 'Ain al-Quḍāt al-Hamadānī and Ibn 'Arabī, who emphasize gnosis (*'irfān*), there is, needless to say, a "movement" and change of emphasis. But first of all, because of the gnostic character of Islamic spirituality itself, the element of knowledge is present throughout the tradition of Ṣūfism. Secondly, even among the early Ṣūfīs all the basic elements, including maḥabba and ma'rifa, exist and are discussed by certain figures. And thirdly, although the accent shifts in the historical unfolding of Ṣūfism from fear to love to knowledge, all of these possibilities existed from the beginning in the seed contained in the soil of the

revelation and were later manifested according to the laws of the life cycle of the tradition. The manifestation of Ṣūfism in its various phases, or what appears outwardly as its "development", if viewed with discernment is itself proof of the continuity of a living, spiritual tradition rooted in the world of the spirit, in the same way that the ages through which man passes are themselves the best proof of the fact that he is alive and that his life possesses organic continuity.

These different phases of Ṣūfism, which must be viewed as the unfolding of a permanent truth rather than either a progress or a deviation as some have thought, make evident the falsity of the claim made by certain modern scholars to identify the ascetic and "dry" phase of Ṣūfism exclusively with the Arabs and the "warm" type of Ṣūfism in which love plays a major rôle with the Persians. Although, as already mentioned, ethnic temperament does play a rôle in the expression of spirituality, and Ṣūfism has adapted itself for people with completely different types of psychic and mental make-up, this type of identification of Persians or Arabs with one kind of Ṣūfism is simply an error. The element of asceticism (*zuhd*), as well as love and knowledge, is to be found among both Persian and Arab Ṣūfīs as well as among Ṣūfīs of other nations such as the Turks and Indians who embraced Islam later. One finds pure gnostics and esotericists among early Ṣūfīs in both the Persian and the Arab worlds, for example Abū Yazīd al-Biṣṭāmī and Dhu'l-Nūn al-Miṣrī. In the same way one finds in both worlds Ṣūfīs who composed exquisite poems using the language of love, as for example 'Aṭṭār and Ibn al-Fāriḍ. Therefore, rather than identifying the main types of expression of Ṣūfism with a particular ethnic group, it is more meaningful to state that the Persians and Arabs have shared in the unfolding of the life cycle of the Ṣūfī tradition in which they have both participated and that Ṣūfism in both parts of the Islamic world has unfolded itself through a cycle which embraces the three stages of makhāfa, maḥabba and ma'rifa.

In the same way that the unity of Ṣūfism is preserved in spite of ethnic divisions by means of its elaborate teaching about the spiritual hierarchy, so is this unity continued by means of the hierarchy of invisible men (*rijāl al-ghaib*) who rule over the human world and play an especially important function in initiation and the connection of the spiritual master with the spiritual world. After the Prophet the first spiritual poles (*quṭb*) were among the Arabs, save for Salmān who was a Persian. As for Shī'ism, the Imāms, who play the same rôle as the

quṭb in Ṣūfism, belong of course to the "Household of the Prophet". But in the later history of Ṣūfism the different levels of the spiritual hierarchy (the *abdāl*, *autād*, etc.) were connected to the Arab and Persian world alike and many Persian Ṣūfīs, such as Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Kharraqānī, were considered as the supreme pole (quṭb) of their time. Here again the fundamental unity of Ṣūfism imposed itself upon all ethnic diversities and the "development" of Ṣūfism in Persia has remained throughout history organically bound with the Ṣūfī tradition in its totality.

During the early centuries, even more than the later ones, not only the doctrine and method but also the outward expression and transmission of teaching was contained within a single whole embracing all Muslims. The journeys of the Egyptian Dhu'l-Nūn to the East and his many Persian disciples, one of whom, Yūsuf b. Ḥusain al-Rāzī, preserved and distributed his sayings, or the number of Arab disciples of the Persian Junaid, are far from being exceptional. Rather, they represent the rule during the early centuries when personal encounters between outstanding Ṣūfīs of different lands occurred often, and when Ṣūfīs from the eastern and western lands of Islam usually travelled to the central areas of Iraq and Persia as well as, of course, to the holy cities to make the pilgrimage and to meet the Ṣūfīs of those regions.

II. THE SPREAD OF ṢŪFISM AMONG THE PERSIANS

The first link between the Persians and Ṣūfism is through the same figure who was the first among them to make contact with Islam. Reputedly the first Persian to have embraced Islam, Salmān-i Fārsī or Salmān-i Pāk, is among the foremost of the early Ṣūfīs (counted among the ahl al-ṣuffa) and one of the few to have received the esoteric message of Islam directly from the Prophet. The exemplary life of the Persian in quest of the true Prophet, the seeker of the truth who after a period of slavery finally found his way to Medina, is told in many versions in both Sunnī and Shī'ī sources. Salmān became so attached to the Prophet that he was given the honour by the Prophet himself to be a member of his household (*Salmān min ahl baitinā*). Traditional biographies mention that he was one of the sixteen Companions who were allowed to participate in the rite of fraternization when the Prophet arrived in Medina. After the Prophet, Salmān became a close companion of 'Alī and was for a while the governor of Madā'in where he continued to live in simplicity; and he died there in 35/655 or 36/656. His mauso-

leum is found to this day in that location, being a centre of pilgrimage for people of all schools.

Salmān was respected later by Sunnīs and Shī'īs alike. The Ṣūfīs in the Sunnī world honour him as one of their greatest early forerunners and Ibn 'Arabī even considers him the prototype of the spiritual pole (quṭb). Shī'īs view him as one of the foremost members of the early Shī'ī community and a main factor in the spread of the teachings of 'Alī, especially in interpreting the meaning of the Qur'ān. Certain extremist sects such as the Nuṣairīs even consider Salmān as being the archangel Gabriel himself who brought the revelation. In the alphabetical symbolism of certain Shī'ī schools *mīm* stands for Muḥammad, *'ain* for 'Alī and *sīn* for Salmān, and it is said that sīn symbolizes initiation and is the necessary link between mīm and 'ain or between prophecy and the imāmate.[1]

Putting aside his important rôle in Twelver and Ismā'īlī Shī'ism as well as in many different sects from the Nuṣairīs to the Musha'sha'a, Salmān remains the primordial link between Persia and Ṣūfism. It is noteworthy that in the earliest Islamic community, besides the Arabs, there were a Persian and a Black African, Salmān and Bilāl, whose very presence symbolized the future spread of Islam among these peoples. Moreover, the esoteric function of Salmān and his important rôle in early Ṣūfism was also a symbol of the later spread of Ṣūfism among the Persians and the important rôle of the Persians in the exposition and orchestration of the teachings of Ṣūfism.

After Salmān, the generation of zuhhād spread the teachings which later gained the name of Ṣūfism. Baṣra soon became the centre for these teachings and through its influence the schools of Baghdad, Khurāsān and Egypt came into being. The Persians were involved in all of these schools, save the Egyptian, and produced many outstanding Ṣūfīs during this early period. But Salmān continued to dominate the horizon and remain in the memory of later generations as the earliest link between the Persians and the tree of prophecy whose branches were to spread so rapidly during the following decades and whose spiritual flowers were to blossom so remarkably in the schools of Baṣra, Baghdad and Khurāsān from the 2nd/8th century onward.

[1] On the different sects based on the relations between *mīm*, *'ain* and *sīn*, see L. Massignon, "Salman Pak et les prémices spirituelles de l'Islam iranien" in *Opera Minora*, vol. 1 (Beirut, 1963), pp. 470–2.

III. THE EARLY GENERATIONS OF ṢŪFĪS AND THE SCHOOL OF BAṢRA

The first manifestations of Ṣūfism, in reality if not as yet in name, are to be found, after the Prophet, 'Alī and a few other of the closest Companions, in several of the figures who came to be known throughout the early community for their asceticism and piety. Among the earliest of these figures was Abu'l-Dardā', himself one of the Companions, who emphasized the importance of meditation (*tafakkur*) and claimed that reverential fear (*taqwā*) was preferable to forty years of worship (*'ibāda*) without taqwā. In him are to be seen the characteristics which have always distinguished the Ṣūfīs from the rest of the community.

Another early figure respected by Ṣūfīs and Shī'īs alike, Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī, was an intimate companion of 'Alī. While participating in political movements for the sake of social justice and opposing the Umayyads for religious reasons, he lived a strict life of simplicity combined with great asceticism and emphasized the purity resulting from the cleansing of the soul, which lies at the heart of Ṣūfism. His contemporary Ḥudhaifa b. Yamān was also opposed to political injustice and misrule. But he did not support any form of revolt. Like Abū Dharr he also lived a life of simplicity and emphasized the importance of the purity of the heart for the attainment of perfection of faith. A few years his younger, 'Imrān b. Ḥusain al-Khuzā'ī lived in Baṣra and was renowned as the most pious and the greatest of the Companions still living in that city when he died in 52/672. He lived a life devoted completely to religious worship and trained some disciples, of whom the most famous was Ḥasan al-Baṣrī. Finally, belonging to the same group of early saints is the famous Uwais al-Qaranī, the Yemenite, who never met the Prophet but became his disciple from far away. He became among the choicest of the Companions and fought with 'Alī at Ṣiffīn. Few men in the history of Ṣūfism have left as profound an influence as Uwais, who became the prototype of a particular type of spirituality in Islam.

All these early saints of the first generation were Arabs but their relation with the spiritual life of Persia was profound, especially as far as Abū Dharr and Uwais are concerned. Abū Dharr has remained to this day a Persian national hero. His feats and actions are still celebrated from the pulpit of mosques and his spiritual station is looked upon

with respect by the Persian Ṣūfīs. As for Uwais, he has exercised the deepest influence in the development of Ṣūfism in Persia. The type of Ṣūfī who is initiated into the Way and guided by the "invisible master" or al-Khaḍir (Khiḍr in Persian) without the intercession of a living master can be seen throughout Persian history and even today there are many "Uwaisīs", one of whom, the late Muḥammad Ṣādiq 'Anqā', was among the most accomplished spiritual figures of Persia during this century.

The founder of the Baṣra school of Ṣūfism, which is itself the source for all later Ṣūfī schools, is the celebrated Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who was born in Medina in 21/642, the son of a Persian slave, and who died after a long and fruitful life in Baṣra in 110/728. The story of his conversion, apocryphal though it is, has become famous in the annals of Ṣūfī literature especially as told by 'Aṭṭār in the *Tadhkirat al-auliyā'*.[1] Ḥasan is well-known as a transmitter of prophetic ḥadīth and also as the founder of Kalām in its formal phase of development. In addition he is the patriarch of Ṣūfism, the head of the spiritual chain (*silsila*) of many orders and also one of the founders of craft initiation in Islam. He was also an exegete of the Qur'ān and an outstanding orator.

Although famous and in an exalted social position, Ḥasan lived a life of complete purity and asceticism like his saintly predecessors. He based Ṣūfism upon fear of God (*wara'*) and detachment from the world or asceticism (*zuhd*). His famous letter to the pious Umayyad Caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz begins with these lines: "Beware of this world with all wariness; for it is like to a snake, smooth to the touch, but its venom is deadly. Turn away from whatsoever delights thee in it, for the little companioning thou wilt have of it; put off from thee its cares, for that thou hast seen its sudden chances, and knowest for sure that thou shalt be parted from it; endure firmly its hardship, for the ease that shalt presently be thine . . ."[2]

Ḥasan's teachings were not limited only to the purgation of the soul of its earthly defilements. He also spoke of gnosis, of the direct vision of God in paradise, and of the significance of the nocturnal ascension (*mi'rāj*) of the Prophet. He analysed the different spiritual states (*aḥvāl*) so much developed in later Ṣūfism, and emphasized the significance of meditation (*fikr*) in the spiritual life.[3] Altogether, many of the

[1] 'Aṭṭār, *Muslim Saints and Mystics*, tr. A. J. Arberry (London, 1966), pp. 20–2.
[2] A. J. Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 33.
[3] On the aḥvāl see Naṣr, *Sufi Essays*, Chapter 5, and C. Rice, *Persian Sufis*, Chapter 5.

fundamental aspects of Ṣūfism were formulated by Ḥasan and he left a profound and enduring influence upon nearly all later schools of Ṣūfism throughout the Islamic world. He has been remembered by posterity not only through his works and orations but chiefly through the training of many disciples and the establishment of a school. Perhaps the most famous member of this circle was the woman saint Rābi'a al-'Adwiya, who was born in Jerusalem but lived and died in Baṣra, and was the first among Ṣūfīs to develop the theme of Divine love and union.

IV. THE SCHOOL OF KHURĀSĀN

From its early home in Baṣra and also to a certain degree in Kūfa Ṣūfism spread to two main centres, Khurāsān and Baghdad, each of which became the home of a school known by the name of that locality. The school of Khurāsān, whose members Junaid called the "people of the heart", was known especially for its emphasis upon poverty and indifference towards the opinion of the public, even to the extent of inviting their blame (*malāma*) and accusation. It is not accidental that the school of the Malāmatiyya, that is the people who invited blame upon themselves, associated with Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār, arose in Khurāsān and had most of its later development there.

The founder of the school of Khurāsān, one of the earliest of Ṣūfīs, is Ibrāhīm b. Adham, who was born in Balkh around 100/718 and died probably in Syria around 165/782, although many other localities in the vicinity of the Muslim–Byzantine borders have also been mentioned as the site of his death. The story of the conversion of Ibrāhīm is one of the most celebrated in the annals of Ṣūfism. It is an echo of the story of the conversion of Shakyamuni Buddha from the life of a prince to that of an illuminated being. The story is not just a fictitious tale of later origin. It is an echo in the bosom of Islam of an archetypal reality which found its supreme manifestation in the life of the Buddha. Ibrāhīm, like Prince Gautama, was from a royal family in Balkh, itself a centre of Buddhism before Islam. He became attracted to Ṣūfism through contact with the school of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq by way of Ṣufyān al-Thaurī with whom he corresponded. As a result he left his princely life for one of severe asceticism and poverty in Syria and adjacent areas where he also encountered some saintly Christian monks including a Father Simeon, his meeting with whom was an occasion for the descent of gnosis into his heart. Ibrāhīm emphasized the importance

of silence. As Abū Nu'aim recounts in his *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'*, Ibrāhīm said, concerning the way of serving God: "The beginning of service is meditation and silence, save for the invocation and recollection (*dhikr*) of God."[1] Already the supreme method of realization of Ṣūfism is alluded to by this early saint, whose memory has been kept alive through the centuries not only as recounted by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa when he visited his tomb in the 8th/14th century, but even today by the stories of the lives of saints as they are told in *khānaqāhs* and, on a more popular level, in inns by storytellers. He is also remembered for the transmission of two sacred traditions (*ḥadīth qudsī*).[2]

Of Ibrāhīm's students the most famous is Shaqīq al-Balkhī (d. 194/810) who emphasized the importance of reliance upon God (*tawakkul*) and was the first Ṣūfī to define it as a spiritual state (*ḥāl*). He was also much concerned with giving a more systematic character to the self-discipline which lies at the heart of Ṣūfism and which was developed to such an extent by the Ṣūfīs of the next centuries. Some of the sayings of Shaqīq on spiritual discipline are recorded by his student Ḥātim al-Aṣamm who was himself a leading member of the school of Khurāsān but who also spent some time in Baghdad, returning to Khurāsān to die near Tirmidh in 237/852.

Other important figures of the Khurāsānī school in the early period include 'Abd-Allāh b. Mubārak (d. 181/797) who was known as an authority on ḥadīth, Fuḍail b. 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803) who is responsible for the transmission of a "sacred tradition", and in the 3rd/9th century such men as Abū Turāb al-Nakhshabī (d. 240/854), Ibn Karrām (d. 255/869) and Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh al-Rāzī (d. 258/872). After being influenced by the later development of Ṣūfism in Baghdad and elsewhere, the Khurāsān school gave birth to some of the most celebrated Ṣūfīs of later centuries, from Bāyazīd to Abū Sa'īd b. Abi'l-Khair and finally to the great Ṣūfī poets of the Persian language starting with Sanā'ī.

V. THE SCHOOL OF BAGHDAD

Almost contemporary and parallel with the school of Khurāsān there grew the school of Baghdad which was direct heir to Baṣra and Kūfa but whose origins are also related to Khurāsān. The foundation of this school is attributed in traditional sources to Ma'rūf al-Karkhī (d. 200/815), the simple and probably illiterate companion of Imām Riḍā, the

[1] Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 37. [2] Anawati and Gardet, p. 31.

eighth Shī'ī Imām who died and was buried near Ṭūs in Khurāsān. Karkhī's disciple, Sarī al-Saqaṭī (d. 253/867), who was also a simple man, dealing in second hand goods, was the uncle of the celebrated Junaid. Actually not only the school of Baghdad but the whole of later Ṣūfism has been influenced by the writings of two men of that school, namely Muḥāsibī and Junaid, who, although of somewhat different temperament and possessing different approaches to Ṣūfism, provided, each in his own way, the early intellectual and doctrinal formulations of Ṣūfism.

Al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī "whose preserved writings may truly be said to have formed to a large extent the pattern of all subsequent [Ṣūfī] thought"[1] was born in Baṣra in 165/781 but spent most of his life in Baghdad where he died in 243/857. A master of the religious sciences, especially Ḥadīth and Kalām, he wrote the first systematic works on Ṣūfism, which have carried an immense influence. His masterpiece, the *al-Ri'āya li ḥuqūq Allāh* was definitely the model for Ghazzālī's *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn* as his *al-Waṣāyā* served as source of inspiration for Ghazzālī's much more celebrated *al-Munqidh min al-ḍalāl*. His *Kitāb al-tawahhum* dealing with eschatology left its profound marks on the last section of the *Iḥyā'*. In this same book Ghazzālī speaks about Muḥāsibī in these terms: "He harmonized and combined the science of the Truth (*ḥaqīqa*) and the science of the law (*sharī'a*). He spoke to the people in a manner comfortable to their condition. As a result the doctors of jurisprudence (*fuqahā*) had confidence in him as did the Ṣūfīs."[2]

The characteristic approach of Muḥāsibī to Ṣūfism is the examination or taking account (*muḥāsaba*) of the conscience, from which he in fact took the title by which he has been known throughout history. Muḥāsibī developed the method, still emphasized in many Ṣūfī orders, by which the adept examines methodically the fruits of his action in the light of the rights of God and the effect of these actions upon the soul. This is a way to purify the soul from the negative effects of evil actions and prevent the concordant reaction from defiling the soul. In this way and through serving God alone a transformation takes place within man leading to an actualization of wisdom within him. Muḥāsibī develops this fundamental theme in his chief work *al-Ri'āya*, taking into

[1] Arberry, *Sufism*, p. 46.

[2] Quoted in the Arabic introduction of A. Amīn, *Kitāb al-tawahhum*, ed. A. J. Arberry Cairo, 1937), p. *dāl*.

consideration the relation between human action and the intentions behind them as well as the effect of different vices and evils upon the soul. The work is a masterpiece of Ṣūfī psychology and contains many insights into the relationship between the psyche and physical acts on the one hand and the psyche and the spirit on the other.

In his *Kitāb al-tawahhum*, Muḥāsibī turns to the question of the afterlife and man's posthumous becoming until he is blessed with the supreme vision. In this remarkable work the transformation of man's vision from the sensual to the spiritual is described in majestic terms. Finally mention must be made of his treatise on love (*Faṣl fi'l-maḥabba*), preserved only partially, in which he discusses the love of God in unprecedented terms. Because of these, and also his properly speaking theological works, Muḥāsibī must be considered one of the most important intellectual figures of early Islamic history, a man who left an indelible mark on Ṣūfism as well as on Kalām and the Islamic religious sciences in general.

With Abu'l-Qāsim al-Junaid, who was born in Nihāvand, or possibly in Baghdad from parents who had migrated from Nihāvand, around 210/825, we reach the other peak of the school of Baghdad. Junaid studied first law and Ḥadīth and only later was he attracted to Ṣūfism, becoming a disciple of Muḥāsibī. He lived a long life in Baghdad, where he died in 298/910 and where his tomb is to be found to this day. This most famous master of the school of Baghdad trained many disciples and wrote a number of treatises, many in the form of letters, which have preserved his influence throughout Islamic history. Few Ṣūfīs have ever gained the degree of fame and universal acceptance enjoyed by Junaid, the master of the "sober" school of Ṣūfism.

Junaid was the first Ṣūfī to have discussed in depth the meaning of spiritual union. With him the early development of Ṣūfī doctrine reaches its peak. In his exposition of Ṣūfism he was, moreover, more of a pure gnostic than Muḥāsibī and opposed the employment of Kalām in the way that can be seen in the writings of the latter. Junaid was also completely opposed to the rationalist Kalām of the Mu'tazilites, who were all-powerful in Baghdad during his days. He thus formulated the Ṣūfī doctrine of Unity (*tauḥīd*) in sharp contrast to the theological definition of the Mu'tazilites. In a definition that has become famous in the history of Ṣūfism and even among doctors of law and theologians, Junaid defines Unity as follows: "*al-tauḥīd ifrād al-qadīm 'an al-muḥdaṯ*" ("Unification is the separation of the Eternal from that which has

originated in time"). The whole doctrine of Junaid may be said to depend upon the two principles of tauḥīd and sobriety (*ṣaḥw*), the first of which is the goal and the second his method of realizing it.

Ṣūfīs distinguish between two schools or spiritual styles in Ṣūfism: that of "drunkenness" (*sukr*) and that of sobriety (*ṣaḥw*). In the early period Junaid may be said to be the chief representative of the second and Bāyazīd of the first. Junaid defines ṣaḥw as follows:

> He is himself, after he has not been truly himself. He is present in himself and in God after having been present in God and absent in himself. This is because he has left the intoxication of God's overwhelming *ghalaba* (victory), and comes to the clarity of sobriety, and contemplation is once more restored to him so that he can put everything in its right place and assess it correctly. Once more he assumes his individual attributes, after *fanā'*. His personal qualities persist in him, and his actions in this world, when he has reached the zenith of spiritual achievement vouchsafed by God, become a pattern for his fellow men.[1]

This doctrine implies that after the sukr caused by annihilation (*fanā'*) there is a "return" to the state of subsistence (*baqā'*) which for Junaid is the same as ṣaḥw and which implies a full realization of tauḥīd. To comprehend fully the process of the realization of tauḥīd, whose end is ṣaḥw, it is essential to understand two cardinal doctrines, to each of which Junaid in fact devoted a separate treatise, namely, covenant (*mithāq*) and annihilation (*fanā'*). Junaid refers to the famous Qur'anic verse "And (remember) when thy Lord brought forth from the Children of Adam, from their reins, their seed, and made them testify of themselves, (saying): Am I not your Lord? They said: Yea, verily. We testify",[2] of which he gives the esoteric meaning that has been repeated over the ages by Ṣūfīs. He says concerning this verse:

> In this verse God tells you that He spoke to them at a time when they did not exist, except so far as they existed in Him. This existence is not the same type of existence as is usually attributed to God's creatures; it is a type of existence which only God knows and only He is aware of. God knows their existence; embracing them he sees them in the beginning when they are non-existent and unaware of their future existence in this world. The existence of these is timeless.[3]

Man possesses a mode of being in the Divine which is infinitely more real than his terrestrial existence. Fanā' and baqā' or ṣaḥw mean first a

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 90.

[2] Qur'ān vii. 172 (Pickthall translation), and S. H. Naṣr, *Ideals and Realities of Islam*, pp. 25–6.

[3] Ali Abdel-Kader, *The Life, Personality and Writings of al-Junayd*, p. 76.

loss of one's terrestrial existence and then a realization of one's self as one is and has always been in God, in that state when man said, "Yea". Through fanā' man must die to himself in order to be born *in divinis* and to become once again what he has always been and *is* in reality. This is the true end of mystical union whereby man returns to his divine mode of existence in the state before he was even endowed with the separative existence of a creaturely kind.

Junaid trained many disciples, both Arab and Persian, who are themselves among the celebrated figures of Ṣūfism. Abū Bakr al-Shiblī, his close companion (d. 334/946), was constantly in a state of divine attraction (*jaḏḏb*) and was finally committed to an asylum. His constant companion Abu'l-Ḥusain al-Nūrī (d. 295/908) composed many beautiful Ṣūfī poems which gained prominence as a new literary style. Abū Sa'īd al-A'rābī (d. 341/952) composed the first "history" of Ṣūfism, entitled *Ṭabaqāt al-nussāk*, while another direct disciple of Junaid, Abū Muḥammad Ja'far al-Khuldī, composed the *Ḥikāyāt al-auliyā'*, so highly esteemed by the scholars of Baghdad during the following century. Both these important hagiographies have been lost but many fragments of them have survived in later works. Moreover, both were very influential in the large systematic studies of Ṣūfism that appeared in the 4th/11th century.

The best-known disciple of Junaid was of course Ḥusain b. Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj, the most striking figure of early Ṣūfism, whose words have echoed throughout the history of Ṣūfism and who has also become well known to the West thanks to the indefatigable efforts of L. Massignon. Born around 244/858 near Baiḍā' in Fārs in southern Persia, he studied in Baghdad and visited Mecca. Then he started a long series of journeys which were to take him throughout Persia, Central Asia and India. Everywhere he spoke openly of esoteric knowledge and union with God and found it his vocation to arouse the religious conscience of men by throwing before everyone the pearls of wisdom which Ṣūfism reserves for the spiritual élite. He finally returned to Baghdad, continuing to scandalize the public through his open divulgence of the divine mysteries until finally, accused of preaching against the principles of Islam, he was condemned to death and crucified in 309/921. His open espousal of death and the manner in which he died in the cause of Ṣūfism left an indelible impression upon the Muslim mind in a manner which Massignon has compared to the "passion" in its Christian setting, although of course the scale of the

two is quite different. Later Ṣūfīs from ʿAṭṭār, Suhravardī, Ibn ʿArabī and Rūmī to the saints and sages of the last centuries have all re-echoed the unforgettable utterances of Ḥallāj, especially the "I am the Truth" (*ana'l-ḥaqq*) for which he was particularly condemned. Of course from the Ṣūfī point of view it was not the ego or *nafs* of Ḥallāj making this utterance which would have been blasphemous, but God within him as is in fact the case in all the theophonic locutions or paradoxes (*shaṭḥiyyāt*) of the Ṣūfīs.

Ḥallāj is the first great poet of Ṣūfism to leave behind a voluminous amount of poetry. Some of his poems are among the finest mystical verses of the Arabic language and he has often been ranked along with Ibn al-Fāriḍ and Ibn ʿArabī as one of the outstanding Ṣūfī poets of the Arabic language. It is of interest to note that before choosing Persian poetry as their vehicle of expression, Persian Ṣūfīs made outstanding contributions to Arabic Ṣūfī poetry of which Ḥallāj's poems form a significant part. How simply and beautifully has Ḥallāj expressed mystical union in these immortal verses:

> I am He Whom I love and He whom I love is I,
> We are two spirits indwelling one body
> When thou seest me, thou seest Him,
> And when thou seest Him, then thou doest see us both.

VI. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ṢŪFISM IN PERSIA AFTER JUNAID

Based upon the early development of Ṣūfism in Khurāsān and benefiting fully from the teachings of the school of Baghdad, Ṣūfism spread extensively in Persia during the middle and latter parts of the 3rd/9th and throughout the 4th/10th century. Although most of the outstanding figures continued to rise from Khurāsān, which for this reason was called the "land whose product is saints", men of eminence in Ṣūfism began to appear in other parts of Persia, although during this period at least most of them still had contact with the masters of Khurāsān. Ḥallāj is an exception in that he went from Fārs to Tustar and then Baghdad; but even he was deeply influenced by Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī who hailed from Khurāsān.

An outstanding Ṣūfī of the 3rd/9th century and a contemporary of Junaid but not of his school is Ibn Karrām, who was born in Sīstān around 190/806, studied in Khurāsān and then after making the pilgrimage to Mecca returned to Sīstān. But because of numerous difficulties that he encountered in his homeland and also in Khurāsān

especially in Nīshāpūr where he was imprisoned for some time, he left Persia for Jerusalem where he preached at the mosque of the Dome of the Rock. After a life spent in strict asceticism he died in that city in 260/873 and beside his tomb was constructed a *madrasa* and the *khānaqāh* of the Karrāmiyya school named after him. Ibn Karrām was both a Ṣūfī and a theologian. In his writings he revised the technical vocabulary of both Ṣūfism and kalām. He stood theologically between the traditionalist school which opposed rationalist kalām altogether and the Mu'tazilites who supported fully the rationalist approach. His influence is in fact to be seen most of all in the Māturīdī school. His ideas travelled far and wide and were known as far away as India. He also trained many disciples of whom the most famous is Yaḥyā b. Mu'ādh Rāzī of Nīshāpūr who died in 258/871.

A contemporary of Ibn Karrām who dominated the spiritual horizons of Ṣūfism in Khurāsān at that time is Bāyazīd of Bisṭām, one of the most famous of all Ṣūfīs, who died in Bisṭām near the present-day city of Shāhrūd in 261/874, where his tomb and even the cell where he made his spiritual retreat (*khalwa*) stand to this day. Bāyazīd was a pure gnostic of the highest order who lived nearly all of his life in the mountains of Māzandarān and Gurgān. He left little behind in writing save a few supplications (*munājāt*) and theophonic locutions (*shaṭḥiyyāt*), which were later assembled and commented upon by Rūzbahān Baqlī of Shīrāz. But these few lines and verses are sufficient to establish him as one of the foremost "esotericists" in Islam, a person who expressed the purest teachings of Ṣūfism in a language that can only be comprehended through the vision provided by gnosis. He was the foremost representative of the so-called "intoxicated" school of Ṣūfism and influenced immensely even some of the students of Junaid, the master of the "sober" school, of whom Ḥallāj must be especially mentioned.

Bāyazīd, or Abū Yazīd as he is also called, has been accused once again of incorporating Vedantic teachings into Ṣūfism. R. C. Zaehner, who is the latest to present this argument, points to several elements such as the resemblance between the term *khud'a* used by Bāyazīd and *maya*, the famous saying of Bāyazīd "Glory be to me" (*subḥānī*) and "Homage, homage to me" (*mahyam eva namo namaḥ*) of *Bṛhatsannyāsa Upaniṣad*, the resemblance of his "thou art that" (*anta dhāka*) with the famous Vedantic *tat tvam asi* and the fact that his spiritual teacher was Abū 'Alī al-Sindī who is claimed to be a convert from Hinduism.[1] But

[1] R. C. Zaehner, *Hindu and Muslim Mysticism* (London, 1960), p. 95.

as already shown by Arberry[1] none of these arguments can withstand serious criticism. What we observe in the case of Bāyazīd is not a borrowing from the Vedanta but an expression of purely Islamic gnosis (*'irfān*), which because of its very nature closely resembles pure gnosis in any other tradition, including of course Hinduism, where the purely esoteric and gnostic teachings are found in the Vedantic school.

The locutions of Bāyazīd all echo the state of supreme union which he had reached through years of travelling upon the path and purifying his spirit through catharsis (*tajrīd*) of all limitation and darkness. It is related that someone knocked on the door of Bāyazīd. He asked, "Whom do you want?" The man said, "I want Bāyazīd." Bāyazīd answered, "For thirty years Bāyazīd has been looking for Bāyazīd and has not been able to find him. How can you see him?" Another of his sayings is, "Oh God, thou hast become my mirror and I have become thy mirror."[2] These and many other sayings reveal the exalted degree of esoteric knowledge possessed by him and the supreme realization which he gained by traversing all the stages of the Path and "unpeeling" all the outer shells of his own being until he reached the centre of the heart where resides the "Throne of the Compassionate" (*'arsh al-Raḥmān*).

Besides his importance in expounding the mysteries of tajrīd, fanā' and baqā', Bāyazīd is especially known in the history of Ṣūfism as the first person to have described fully the esoteric meaning of the nocturnal ascension (*mi'rāj*) of the Prophet and to have written his own experience of it. Bāyazīd's account as told by Hujvīrī is as follows:

I saw that my spirit was borne to the heavens. It looked at nothing and gave no heed, though Paradise and Hell were displayed to it, for it was free of phenomena and veils. Then I became a bird, whose body was of Oneness and whose wings were of Everlastingness, and I continued to fly in the air of the Absolute, until I passed into the sphere of Purification, and gazed upon the field of Eternity and beheld there the tree of Oneness. When I looked I myself was all those. I cried: "O Lord, with my egoism I cannot attain thee, and I cannot escape from my selfhood. What am I to do?" God spake, "O Abū Yazīd, thou must win release from thy thou-ness by following my Beloved [*sc.* Muḥammad]. Smear thine eyes with the dust of his feet and follow him continually."[3]

[1] A. J. Arberry, "Bistamiana", *BSOAS*, vol. xxv, part 1 (1962), pp. 28–37.

[2] Baqlī, *Sharḥ-i shaṭḥiyyāt* ["Commentaire sur les paradoxes des soufis"], ed. H. Corbin (Tehrān–Paris, 1966), pp. 102, 105.

[3] Arberry, *Sufism*, pp. 54–5.

The spiritual mi'rāj, which is an emulation of the example of the Prophet, became the supreme model for Ṣūfīs to follow and its details become more elaborated by later Ṣūfīs and poets such as Sanā'ī and Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī. It even found a permanent place in the Christian world by becoming incorporated into the structure of the *Divine Comedy* by Dante, where again the spiritual experience is depicted as a journey through the cosmos and the various levels of universal existence.

Another Ṣūfī from Khurāsān whose expositions of Ṣūfism had a definite intellectual and gnostic character was Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Tirmidhī, known in the history of Ṣūfism as Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, who was born during the first quarter of the 3rd/9th century and died somewhere around its end probably in Tirmidh, where his tomb is said to be located. The details of his life are obscure and only the general contours can be discerned, mostly from his own writings. It is known that he came from a family of scholars of ḥadīth and that the region of his upbringing was also the centre for the study of ḥadīth in the Islamic world at that time. He was himself well versed in ḥadīth and his writings reveal his profound knowledge of this science. He also knew the Qur'ān by heart and, as accounted by himself, was taught the esoteric science by al-Khaḍir or Khiḍr.

The title Ḥakīm or "theosopher" given to Tirmidhī is due to his embarking upon the type of gnostic and theosophical discussions which were to find their full exposition in Ibn 'Arabī, Jīlī and other later masters of that school. Of course Tirmidhī's writings are not limited to Ṣūfism alone. Of his approximately sixty-five works a large number are devoted to the strictly religious sciences such as Qur'anic commentary, Ḥadīth, Kalām and even jurisprudence or fiqh in which, however, the Ṣūfī perspective is never absent. But in his strictly Ṣūfī works, in which he followed in many ways Ibn Karrām, he began to expound basic metaphysical teachings which had remained latent in the writings of the earlier Ṣūfīs until that time. Perhaps the most influential of these works is the *Khatm al-auliyā'* where he embarks upon the question of the relation between prophecy (*nubuwwa*) and sainthood (*wilāya*) and the very delicate question of the "seal of sanctity". It is enough to read the *Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* of Ibn 'Arabī to realize how great was the influence of Tirmidhī upon later Ṣūfism.

This particular question of the "seal of sanctity" was also a point of contention between the Sunnī and Shī'ī followers of Ibn 'Arabī as we see in the writings of Sayyid Ḥaidar Āmulī. Centuries of discussion

upon a most difficult and subtle teaching of Ṣūfism revolved around the themes first exposed by Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, who was also the first Ṣūfī to have some acquaintance with the metaphysical and cosmological teachings of the Greeks. His influence upon the gnosis ('irfān) of the school of Ibn 'Arabī on the one hand and on Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband and the later masters of the Naqshbandiyya order on the other hand was both profound and permanent.

A contemporary of Ḥakīm Tirmidhī, Aḥmad b. 'Īsā al-Kharrāz, lived in Baghdad where he associated with Sarī Saqatī and Bishr al-Ḥāfī but travelled later in life to Egypt where he met Dhu'l-Nūn and where he died in 286/899. Known mostly for his sole existing work, the *Kitāb al-ṣidq* ("The Book of Truthfulness"), which is an early masterpiece of Ṣūfism, Kharrāz was one of the earliest authorities to give a clear definition of fanā' and baqā'. He was also particularly attracted to the esoteric science of letters (*jafr*) and to spiritual concerts (*samā'*). In his *Kitāb al-ṣidq* he treats Ṣūfism from the point of view of the cardinal virtue of truthfulness and applies this virtue to all the other elements of the Path such as patience, repentance and knowledge. His writing is clear and the treatise is one of the most direct and lucid expositions of early Ṣūfism written in a concrete and "operative" style and somewhat removed from the intellectual and more "doctrinal" expositions of Tirmidhī.

In addition to the schools of Baghdad and Khurāsān, there were other centres and figures of significance for the development of Ṣūfism during the 3rd/9th century. One of these figures was Abū Sahl al-Tustarī, who was born in Tustar (the modern Shustar, near Ahvāz), where Ḥallāj was also to study later, in 200/815 and died in Baṣra in 261/874. Tustarī, like so many Ṣūfīs of his day, travelled widely, during which period he studied with Ṣufyān al-Thaurī and met Dhu'l-Nūn. In contrast to some of his Ṣūfī contemporaries like Muḥāsibī who were also theologians, Tustarī was opposed to the teachings of kalām and felt that the study of it would turn the mind away from God. He taught especially the importance of turning the mind to God at every moment of life through repentance (*tauba*) which must constantly be renewed. For him the light of faith dominated over reason and all the other faculties of man.

Tustarī wrote the first Ṣūfī commentary upon the Qur'ān and developed the doctrine of the correspondence of the letters of the Qur'ān with the spiritual light, which influenced so many Ṣūfīs such

as Ibn Masarra. Many of his esoteric utterances on Divine Unity also influenced Ḥallāj. But the teachings of Tustarī were transmitted to later centuries mostly through his disciple Ibn Sālim of Baṣra, who founded the famous Sālimiyya School and who edited the master's "Thousand Questions". This school lasted for two centuries and nurtured many important figures of Ṣūfism such as Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī and Ibn Barrajān. It finally died out as a result of attacks, mostly from Ḥanbalī circles, and accusations of anthropomorphism.

In Shīrāz also there appeared in the 3rd/9th century a Ṣūfī of lasting fame and influence. Ibn Khafīf, of royal descent, was born in Shīrāz in 270/883. He travelled to Baghdad where he met Ḥallāj and other members of the school of Baghdad and made the pilgrimage to Mecca six times. He also visited Asia Minor and Egypt and returned to Baghdad, where he died in 371/982. He wrote extensively and is especially known for his support of kalām and his attempt to make use of it for the cause of Ṣūfism. He is also known to posterity as the patron saint of Shīrāz, an honour which he shares with another eminent Ṣūfī of that city, Rūzbahān Baqlī.

VII. ṢŪFISM IN THE 4TH/10TH CENTURY

The tree of Ṣūfism which had by now sunk its roots deeply into the soil of Persia continued to bear remarkable fruit in the 4th/10th century. On the one hand there appeared great masters of the type of the 3rd/9th century, such men as Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharraqānī, who was considered the pole (*quṭb*) of his day and whose special spiritual relation with Bāyazīd is related so beautifully in the *Tadhkirat al-auliyā'* of 'Aṭṭār. On the other hand a new type of Ṣūfī writing appeared in the form of syntheses, compilations and histories. The authors of most of these works, which have been the mainstay of Ṣūfī literature to this day within the khānaqāhs, were Persians, such men as Kalābādhī, Sarrāj, Makkī, Sulamī and Abū Nu'aim.

Abū Bakr al-Kalābādhī who died in Bukhārā in 390/1000, is known for his *al-Ta'arruf li madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*, which is a classic of Ṣūfī literature and which became popular almost from the moment it was written. Moreover, the book possesses a commentary in Persian by Abū Ibrāhīm Mustamlī al-Bukhārī, who might have been Kalābādhī's student. The commentary, which has never been fully studied, is one of the richest sources for the study of the history and doctrine of early Ṣūfism.

Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj from Ṭūs, who died in 378/988, was a student of Ja'far al-Khuldī and through him became attached to the school of Junaid. Sarrāj's *Kitāb al-luma' fi'l-taṣawwuf* is one of the fundamental and authoritative accounts of Ṣūfism and its teaching. Rather than just giving an account of the life of the Ṣūfīs, it expounds in a clear and systematic fashion basic Ṣūfī teachings, especially concerning the spiritual states and stations and the spiritual portrait of the Prophet, who is emulated by all Ṣūfīs. The work is also rich in documentation and reference to the sayings and works of early Ṣūfīs. In its intellectual basis it is akin to the school of Junaid.

Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī was born in Persia but went to Mecca where he studied with another of Junaid's students, Abū Sa'īd al-A'rābī and where he died in 386/996. Drawn especially to the school of Muḥāsibī, Makkī was able to give a very successful synthesis of different aspects of Ṣūfism in conformity with the teachings of the Sharī'a. His *Qūt al-qulūb*, which has always competed with the *Kitāb al-luma'* as an early authoritative statement of Ṣūfism, contains fewer quotations but a greater number of arguments than the latter. It is one of the finest works of Ṣūfism in Arabic from a literary point of view and one whose study requires much effort and attention. It was to exercise much influence over many later Ṣūfīs, particularly Ghazzālī, whose *Iḥyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*, which as already mentioned was influenced also by Muḥāsibī, has even been called an enlargement of the *Qūt al-qulūb*.

The first known systematic history of the lives of saints in Islam in the form of *Ṭabaqāt* literature is the *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* of Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sulamī of Nīshāpūr who died in 412/1021. The author wrote many works on Ṣūfism, but it is especially the *Ṭabaqāt* that is important both in itself and also as a source for Anṣārī's better known *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya*, which are lectures in the local dialect of Herāt based upon Sulamī's work. Also most of the later biographers of Ṣūfism such as 'Aṭṭār and Jāmī drew from Anṣārī and Sulamī, while some historians who included a study of Ṣūfism in their works, such as Dhahabī in his *Ta'rīkh al-islām*, drew from Sulamī's work. The *Ṭabaqāt* of Sulamī is a precious summary of the teachings of the early Ṣūfīs, especially the school of Junaid.

At the end of the 4th/10th and beginning of the 5th/11th century Ṣūfism spread widely throughout the Islamic world and with it there appeared a larger number of works dealing with its doctrines, practices and history. Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī, who lived at this time and died

in 430/1038, wrote what remains to this day the most monumental encyclopaedia of the history of Ṣūfism, covering ten large volumes in its modern printed edition. This vast reference work, based on many earlier biographies and hagiographies that are now lost, does not contain an intellectual structure and is not a systematic exposition of Ṣūfism in either its theoretical or operative aspects. But it does contain a wealth of information of different "classes" of Ṣūfīs starting with the Companions of the Prophet. The last two volumes give a careful description of the Ṣūfism of the two preceding centuries.

With the coming of the Saljuqs many political and intellectual transformations took place which changed completely the direction of the development of philosophy, the sciences and kalām. Also the development of Shī'ī gnosis, both Ithnā'asharī and Ismā'īlī, which are part of Islamic esotericism and closely akin to Ṣūfism but which we were forced to leave out of our present discussion, altered its pattern with the advent of the Saljuqs. But in Ṣūfism the course charted in the 4th/10th century was continued in nearly the same direction. The syntheses of men like Sarrāj and Makkī were continued in the 5th/11th century by Qushairī in his celebrated *Risāla* and by Hujvīrī in the first Persian prose treatise on Ṣūfism, the *Kashf al-maḥjūb*.

The well-known Ṣūfīs of the Saljuq period who began to employ the Persian language as a vehicle for their teachings, such men as Abū Sa'īd, Anṣārī, and later Sanā'ī and 'Aṭṭār, as well as those who were not poets but outstanding Ṣūfīs who wrote in prose like Ghazzālī, are branches of the same tree, some of whose fruit has been examined here. It was the seed of Ṣūfism planted through the revelation of Islam in the Persian soil that produced over the centuries the majestic tree which from the 5th/11th century onward began to spread its branches over the field of Persian literature itself. From the Ṣūfī tradition, whose Persian members had already produced so many of the literary masterpieces of the earlier period in Arabic, there continued to flow that spiritual presence and grace that began to exercise to an ever more evident degree the profoundest influence upon all the arts in Persia, especially literature. From the wedding of this spiritual force and the latent genius of the Persian language there was born the incomparable Persian Ṣūfī poetry which became not only the most universal part of Persian literature but also was destined to play a crucial rôle for many centuries in the spiritual and religious life of numerous nations of Asia, near and far.

CHAPTER 14

THE RELIGIOUS SCIENCES

I. THE ISLAMIZATION OF IRAN

There is a strange persistence in many Western studies of the religious history of Islamic Iran to be concerned almost solely with small sects and extremist religious movements. Far too little attention has been paid to the contribution of Iran to the mainstream of Islam and its traditional sciences, whether these be Sunnī or Shī'ī. To be sure the religious climate of Iran has been witness throughout Islamic history to the rise of many sects, some of which were on the fringe of the spectrum of Islam and a few even outside of it, especially during the first few centuries of the Islamic period. But such movements as that of Bābak Khurramdīn, for example, are minor rivulets on the margin of a vast river which was a major source feeding the sea of knowledge identified with classical, orthodox Islam. Without a clear understanding of the rôle of Iranian scholars in the cultivation of the basic Islamic sciences, such as Qur'anic commentary (*tafsīr*), tradition (*ḥadīṯ*), jurisprudence (*fiqh*) and its principles (*uṣūl al-fiqh*) and theology (*kalām*), the meaning of the Islamization of Iran on the one hand and Iran's rôle in the elaboration of Islam and its civilization on the other can never be fully understood.

Those who speak of the military conquest of Iran by the Arab armies as being synonymous with the Islamization of the country can perhaps present in support of their thesis arguments claiming that the newly converted Persians performed public prayers because of what might be termed "public pressure". But they would find it difficult to explain why the Persians produced so many great Islamic scholars. It might be thought that a people, if forced, could submit outwardly to another pattern of life, but not that a people could be forced to contribute creatively and profoundly to this pattern unless it were transformed inwardly by the new way of life. The depth of the Islamization of Persia and the transformation of the very substance of its people's soul by this process is best proved by the intensity of interest and the quality of the knowledge and scholarship of the Persian scholars who played such a

basic rôle in the development and even creation of so many of the Islamic sciences.

In the same way that for Persians the domain of knowledge became Islamicized as a result of their conversion to Islam so the environment in which they lived underwent a major transformation. In a sense even the cosmic milieu "participated" in the process of Islamization, a similar occurrence being observed in the establishment of every new religion on earth. The stories told about lakes, mountain passes or ravines being formed in different parts of present-day Iran and Afghanistan on the night of the descent of the Qur'ān or through the supernatural powers of some of the Companions, especially 'Alī, cannot be simply brushed aside as old wives' tales. They symbolize the Islamization of the natural and cosmic environment for the Persians, a process which was the complement to the transformation of the content of their minds and thoughts. The two poles of knowledge and existence both became deeply transformed in the new spiritual universe of Islam and as a result the Persians began to devote themselves wholeheartedly to the cultivation of the Islamic sciences, in which their contribution is hardly less central than in the fields of Ṣūfism and philosophy. Moreover, this transformation was permanent and not in any way related to external forces, so that with the termination of Arab political domination over Iran, the intense activity of Persians in the Islamic religious sciences, far from subsiding, reached its peak in both Sunnī and Shī'ī studies, in the late 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries.

A notable feature of the Islamization of Iran that is reflected in the work of the Persian scholars of this time who were concerned with the religious sciences is strong opposition to the *Zanādiqa* and similar heterodox groups. Both Abū Ḥanīfa and Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, the one Sunnī and the other Shī'ī but both Persian, were more severe with the *Zanādiqa* than the Arab jurists, although the background of the *Zanādiqa* movements derives of course from pre-Islamic Iranian religious currents, especially Manichaeism. Likewise, the Persian jurists were usually more strict at this time than others towards those who indulged in debauchery, excessive luxury and worldly pleasures, although the Persians themselves had had the experience of a more luxurious and mundane life than the Arabs in pre-Islamic times, and certain Persians in fact had been the first to introduce this type of life into the Ḥijāz. The Persian scholars were, moreover, more insistent than many of the Arab jurists of this early period on the necessity of maintaining equality

between different races in Islam, and they even came to call themselves the "people of equality" (*ahl al-taswiya*). Finally it must be mentioned that the more violent opposition to the extremists of the Shu'ūbiyya movement, which claimed racial superiority for the Persians over the Arabs, came from the Persians themselves – such men as Zamakhsharī in the introduction to his *al-Mufaṣṣal* and Tha'ālibī in the introduction to his *Sirr al-adab fī majārī kalām al-'arab*. These and similar attacks finally put an end to this type of movement in the early Islamic period. All these facts indicate the thorough integration of Persians into the Islamic *umma* from the earliest period and the central rôle their writings were to play in the very foundation of the Islamic sciences, which began to crystallize from the fountainhead of knowledge in Islam, namely the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth.

II. THE QUR'ANIC SCIENCES

Having been revealed to the Arabs, the Qur'ān, along with the sciences concerned with it, was naturally first studied by them, or more specifically by that group among the Companions and their students who were gifted with the necessary qualifications to undertake such studies. Furthermore, having been written in Arabic, the Qur'ān was naturally more easily understood and more easily psalmodized by the Arabs than by the non-Arab Muslims, who first had to overcome the language barrier. As a result the first Qur'anic scholars were all Arabs, save for Salmān al-Fārsī, who is credited with having made the first translation of the Holy Book and the first commentary upon it in another language. Persian became, therefore, the first language into which the Qur'ān was translated.

As the process of Islamization continued among the Persians, love for the Qur'ān combined with a lack of knowledge of its language became an incentive for them to turn to an avid study of Arabic and the Qur'ān, whose language they sometimes tended to analyse even more carefully than the Arabs, precisely because Arabic was not their mother tongue and they were therefore more conscious of the necessity to understand all its intricacies.

The sciences dealing with the Qur'ān are divided traditionally into those dealing with the recitation of the Book (*qirā'a*) and those dealing with commentary upon it and the meaning of its content (*tafsīr*). The science of qirā'a was taught by the Prophet to the Companions and

through them reached the next generation or "followers" (*tābi'īn*), when Persians first began to learn this science. Some have thought that the science of qirā'a, which was transmitted orally at the beginning, was first compiled and systematized by Abū 'Ubaid Qāsim b. Sallām al-Hirawī in the 3rd/9th century. But in reality there were works composed in this science before him by Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and before Ḥamza by Abān b. Taghlib, who was a contemporary of Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.

Among the authorities on qirā'a seven are considered to be the most outstanding: 'Āṣim, Nāfi', Ibn Kathīr, Kisā'ī, Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā', Ḥamza b. Ḥabīb and 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Āmir. Of these four were Persians: 'Āṣim b. Abi'l-Najūd, whom Ibn al-Nadīm lists among the *mawālī*, Nāfi', whom the same source considers as having originated in Iṣfahān, Ibn al-Kathīr and Kisā'ī, whose full name, 'Alī b. Ḥamza b. 'Abd-Allāh b. Bahman b. Fīrūz, reveals his Persian origin.[1] The major contribution of the Persians to this all-important Qur'anic science therefore becomes evident simply by studying the background of the early authorities of this traditional science, whose names have been inseparable from it to the present day.

As for Tafsīr among the early Muslim commentators, there are those whose views are echoed in later works but of whom no independent writing has survived and those who have left behind written commentaries. Of the first group, of nearly twenty men like Ibn 'Abbās, Ibn Mas'ūd and Ubaiy b. Ka'b who are considered the earliest authorities on Tafsīr, only Muqātil, Ṭā'ūs, A'mash and Farrā' were Persians. Muqātil b. Sulaimān was from Ray or Khurāsān and died in 150/767–8. He was so well known that Imām al-Shāfi'ī said of him, "People are Muqātil's dependants in the science of Tafsīr."[2] Ṭā'ūs was also a Persian but resided in the Yemen, while Sulaimān b. Mahrān al-A'mash was originally from Damāvand and also died in 150/767–8.

As for Farrā' b. Yaḥyā b. Ziyād al-Aqṭa', he was one of the most famous grammarians of the early period and was himself a student of Kisā'ī and teacher of the children of al-Ma'mūn. He composed an important commentary and died around 207/822 or 208/823. Ibn Khallikān has given an interesting account of how this commentary, entitled *al-Ma'ānī*, was written.[3] One of Farrā''s friends wrote to him complaining that in his association with Ḥasan b. Sahl Dhu'l-Riyāsatain he was often asked questions about the Qur'ān which he could not

[1] Ibn Nadīm, pp. 63–4. [2] Ibn Khallikān, vol. IV, p. 341.
[3] Ibn Khallikān, vol. III, pp. 226–7.

answer, and therefore he requested Farrā' to send him instructions or to introduce a book on the subject for him to study. Upon receiving the letter Farrā' called in his students and declared his intention to dictate a book on the Qur'ān. A particular day was chosen and a chanter of the Qur'ān (*qāri'*) was brought who began to recite the Qur'ān from the beginning while Farrā' recited his commentary to the students. In this way the whole of the Qur'ān was commentated in a vast work of a thousand folios, which moreover gained immediate acceptance. Unfortunately, it has not survived.

The second group of commentators, whose works have survived, is great in number and their names have been enumerated in most traditional works dealing with the "classes of commentators" (*ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*). Among those who were Persian and who lived up to the 5th/11th century there are to be found both Shī'ī and Sunnī authorities on tafsīr. The most famous Persian Shī'ī commentators of this period are:

1. Ḥusain b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī, who was a contemporary of the fourth Shī'ī Imām Jawād Zain al-'Ābidīn.

2. 'Alī b. Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī, who lived at the time of the eighth Shī'ī Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā.

3. Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī, also a contemporary of Imām Riḍā.

4. Ḥasan b. Khālid al-Barqī, again a contemporary of Imām Riḍā.

5. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Qummī, who was still alive in 306/918–19.

6. 'Alī b. Bābūya (Bābawaih) al-Qummī, who died in 323/935.

7. 'Ayyāshī al-Samarqandī, who in addition to his mastery of tafsīr was well-versed in jurisprudence, Ḥadīth, medicine and astronomy. He lived in the 3rd/9th century. By the time Ibn al-Nadīm wrote his *al-Fihrist*, al-'Ayyāshī's books were widely known in Khurāsān. His commentary is well-known and has survived fully.

8. Abu'l-'Abbās al-Isfarā'inī, who lived in the second half of the 3rd/9th century.

9. Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥusain b. 'Alī, known as Ibn al-Marzubān, who was a descendant of the last Sāsānian king. He composed a book entitled *Khaṣā'iṣ al-Qur'ān* and died in 418/1027–8. He was buried in Najaf.

10. Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naishābūrī.

11. Shaikh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, the celebrated Shī'ī scholar known also as Shaikh al-Ṭā'ifa and the author of the well-known commentary *al-Tibyān*, which has been printed many

times. Shaikh al-Ṭūsī left Khurāsān at the age of twenty-three for Baghdad where he studied with Sayyid Murtaḍā and Shaikh al-Mufīd and soon became himself the leader of Shī'ism. Towards the end of his life he left Baghdad for Najaf where he established a university for the Islamic sciences which still survives as a major centre of Shī'ī learning.

As for Persian Sunnī commentators, according to al-Suyūṭī's *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn* the best-known are as follows:

1. Abū Yaḥyā Ja'far b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī al-Za'farānī, whom al-Suyūṭī calls "the imām of commentators". He died in 279/892–3.[1]

2. Muḥammad b. Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, the well-known historian, scholar of Ḥadīth, jurisprudent and commentator, whose commentary, *Jāmi' al-bayān*, is so famous. This work was translated into Persian by Bal'amī at the order of Nūḥ b. Manṣūr, the Sāmānid ruler. Al-Ṭabarī died in 310/922–3.

3. Abu'l-Maḥāmid Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad al-Faraj al-Ṣamarqandī, who was born in 208/823–4 and died in 250/864–5. It is said of him that he was an outstanding authority in all the religious sciences, including Tafsīr, Ḥadīth and jurisprudence.

4. Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyā' al-Lughawī, who originated in Qazvīn and was at the beginning Shāfi'ī but later became Mālikī. He wrote a commentary entitled *Jāmi' al-ta'wīl* and another work by the name of *Gharīb i'rāb al-Qur'ān*. He died in 395/1004–5.

5. Abū Isḥāq Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Tha'labī al-Naishābūrī, whose work entitled *Tafsīr al-Tha'labī* is well known. Al-Suyūṭī called him "Unique in his time in the science of the Qur'ān".[2] Tha'labī died in 427/1035–6.

6. Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Fārsī, preacher and commentator from Nīshāpūr whose sermons were attended by thousands of people.

7. Abū Ḥāmid Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hirawī, the *muftī* of Herāt who was a Shāfi'ī and a teacher of the well-known scholar of ḥadīth, Ḥākim al-Naishābūrī. Abū Ḥāmid died in 355/966 or 358/968–9.

8. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḥirī al-Naishābūrī, who was both commentator and chanter of the Qur'ān. Al-Naishābūrī, who was blind, was born in 360/970–1 and died in 430/1038–9.

9. Abū 'Uthmān al-Ṣabūrī al-Naishābūrī, both commentator and scholar of ḥadīth, whose piety and acute intelligence were proverbial. He was born in 373/983–4 and died in 449/1057–8.

[1] al-Suyūṭī, p. 10.

[2] al-Suyūṭī, p. 5.

10. Abu'l-Qāsim Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Naishābūrī, commentator and preacher whom al-Suyūṭī has called the most famous commentator of Khurāsān. He was a teacher of Tha'labī and died in 406/1015–16.

11. Abū Sa'īd Ḥusain b. Muḥammad al-Iṣfahānī al-Za'farānī, who was a source for Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī and died in 369/979–80.

12. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadānī al-Asadābādī, who died in 415/1024–5.

13. Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Yazdād al-Qummī al-Ḥanafī, who was the imām of Ray and died in 350/961–2.

14. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Mundhir al-Naishābūrī, who lived in Mecca and about whom al-Suyūṭī writes that he composed a commentary that was incomparable. He died in 318/930–1.

There are still other commentators whom one could mention, mostly from the cities of Khurāsān and also Iṣfahān. The above list, however, suffices to demonstrate the major rôle played by Persian scholars in the cultivation of the Qur'anic sciences, in both Sunnism and Shī'ism.

III. THE SCIENCE OF ḤADĪTH

The rôle of the Persians in the field of Ḥadīth was no less outstanding than their services to the Qur'anic sciences. After the death of the Prophet of Islam a group of the Companions opposed the recording of ḥadīth in order to guard the purity and uniqueness of the Qur'anic text, while another group, headed by 'Alī, favoured recording the ḥadīth, referring to the saying of the Prophet, "May God make happy that servant who, having heard my words, preserves them in his mind and transmits them to the person who has not heard them."[1] The partisans and friends of 'Alī, like Anas b. Mālik, were, therefore, the first to collect the ḥadīth and favour the cultivation of the sciences connected with them. With the Sunnīs the systematic collection of ḥadīth began with 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. Considering the great significance of the ḥadīth for the life of the Muslim community as a whole, however, there is no doubt that activity in this field played a major rôle in the religious life of both parts of the community much earlier, that is, from the very beginning of Islamic history.

The Persian contribution to the science of Ḥadīth was extensive in both the Sunnī and Shī'ī worlds. Among the Persian Sunnī scholars of ḥadīth the earliest is most likely Nāfi', the Dailamite slave of 'Abd-

[1] al-Kulainī, vol. 1, p. 403, and Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Shu'ba, p. 42.

Allāh b. 'Umar, who is one of the well-known transmitters (*ruwāt*). In Sunnism the transmission of a ḥadīth from Shāfi'ī, through Mālik b. Anas, Nāfi', 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Umar and finally the Prophet, is called "the golden chain" (*silsilat al-dhahab*).[1] Nāfi' died in 117/735–6 or 120/738. After him the earliest Persian scholar of ḥadīth was Yaḥyā b. Ma'īn, who died in 233/847–8 and who was a teacher of Bukhārī. His contemporary, Abū Ya'qūb Isḥāq b. Rāhūya (Rāhawaih), who died in Nīshāpūr around 230/844–5, was also a teacher of Bukhārī as well as of Muslim and Tirmidhī.

After this period commences the age of the authors of the six canonical collections of Sunnī ḥadīth (*al-ṣiḥāḥ al-sitta*), all of whom were Persian. The authors of the six collections are as follows:

1. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, the author of the best known of the *ṣiḥāḥ*, which he composed over a period of sixteen years. Traditional sources quote Bukhārī as saying that he did not record any ḥadīth before performing his ablutions and praying. Bukhārī died near Samarqand in 256/869–70.

2. Muslim b. Ḥajjāj al-Naishābūrī, who died in Nīshāpūr in 261/874–5 and whose *Ṣaḥīḥ* is second in fame only to that of Bukhārī.

3. Abū Dā'ūd Sulaimān b. Ash'ath al-Sijistānī, a Persian but of Arab descent, who died in 275/888–9.

4. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, author of the well-known *Jāmi' al-Tirmidhī*, who was a student of Bukhārī and died in 279/892–3.

5. Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nisā'ī, who was from Khurāsān and died in 303/915–16.

6. Ibn Māja al-Qazwīnī, who died in 273/886–7.

Besides the authors of the six canonical collections there were two other outstanding scholars of ḥadīth of Persian background who are especially worthy of note: 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Samarqandī, known as Dārimī, the author of the *Sunan* of Dārimī, which some people have substituted for the *Sunan* of Ibn Māja as one of the six canonical collections,[2] and Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā, known as Ibn Manda, who originated in Iṣfahān and died in 301/913–14.

During the 4th/10th century also there were several outstanding Persian scholars of ḥadīth, including:

1. Abū 'Abd-Allāh Ḥākim al-Naishābūrī, known as Ibn al-Bayyi', who composed many works including a history of Nīshāpūr. His fame in Ḥadīth depends mostly upon his well-known *al-Mustadrak 'ala'l-*

[1] Ibn Khallikān, vol. v, p. 4.

[2] Tabrīzī, vol. II, p. 206.

ṣaḥīḥain. He lived during the Sāmānid period and was for some time the judge (*qāḍī*) of Nīshāpūr and Gurgān. He was also sent by the Sāmānids as their ambassador to the Būyids. He died in 405/1014–15. He had Shī'ī tendencies to the extent that Ibn Taimiyya considered him a Shī'ī.[1]

2. Abū Sulaimān al-Bustī, who was a teacher of Ḥākim al-Naishābūrī and who composed many works on ḥadīth. He died in Bust in 388/998.

3. Abū Nu'aim al-Iṣfahānī, the well-known Ṣūfī author of *Ḥilyat al-auliyā'* and *Ta'rīkh al-Iṣfahān*, who died in 430/1038–9 and who was an ancestor of the great Shī'ī scholar of the Ṣafavid period, Majlisī.

This list reveals the extent to which Persians contributed to the sciences dealing with ḥadīth in Sunnism. Their contributions to the Shī'ī branch of the same discipline are no less striking. The first Persian to have recorded the text of a ḥadīth was Salmān al-Fārsī, who recorded and commented upon the ḥadīth of Jāthilīq, the Roman.[2] Parts of this ḥadīth appear in different places in the *Tauḥīd* of Ibn Bābūya (Bābawaih) (known as Shaikh al-Ṣadūq or more commonly in Persian Shaikh-i Ṣadūq).[3] After Salmān, Maitham al-Tammār, who was a Persian residing in Bahrain and a companion of 'Alī and who died in 60/679–80, wrote a book on ḥadīth.

Since in Shī'ism the sayings of the Imāms are included in the ḥadīth collections along with the words of the Prophet, those who collected and recorded these sayings must also be considered. Among these many were Persians, especially in the circle of the fifth and sixth Imāms, when the Imāms had greater freedom to teach the religious sciences. Some of the men whose names have already been mentioned among Qur'anic commentators such as Ḥusain b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī, 'Alī b. Mahziyār al-Ahwāzī, Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī and Faḍl b. Shādhān al-Naishābūrī were also among those who recorded the sayings of the Imāms. "Four hundred principles" (*uṣūl arba'a mi'a*) of ḥadīth, which became the basis of later compilations, were systematized and organized by students of the fifth and sixth Imāms.

After the 3rd/9th century Shī'ī scholars devoted themselves to the compilation of the major Shī'ī canonical collections, which appeared during the 4th/10th century. Here also, as in the case of the six Sunnī canonical works, all the authors of the four major collections were Persians. They are as follows:

1. Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulainī (from near Ray), who travelled

[1] Ṣadr, p. 209. [2] Ṣadr, p. 280. [3] al-Ṣadūq, pp. 182, 286, 316.

a great deal to collect ḥadīth and finally settled in Baghdad, where he wrote his masterpiece, the *Uṣūl al-kāfī*, and where he died in 329/940–1. Altogether he assembled 16,099 ḥadīths consisting of sayings of juridical, moral and spiritual significance.

2. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. Bābūya (Bābawaih) al-Qummī (Shaikh-i Ṣadūq), who also travelled extensively in search of ḥadīth and who died near Tehrān in 381/991–2. His *Man lā yaḥḍuruhu'l-faqīh* consists of 9,044 sayings.

3. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī, already mentioned as a Qur'anic commentator, who wrote two major works on ḥadīth: *Tahḏhīb al-aḥkām*, consisting of 13,590 sayings, and *al-Istibṣār*, comprising 5,511 ḥadīths.

These four works have remained throughout the history of Shī'ism as the most widely accepted authoritative collections of ḥadīth. The rôle of Persian scholars in compiling these and the similar canonical collections in Sunnī Islam is so great that even if they had not made any other contributions to the Islamic religious sciences their share in these sciences would have remained fundamental.

IV. JURISPRUDENCE AND ITS PRINCIPLES

According to both the Shī'ī and Sunnī interpretations of Islam, the practice of giving opinions on questions of sacred law (*ijtihād*) and therefore the foundation of jurisprudence goes back to the Prophet himself, who is the source of this science, the substance of which derives first and foremost from the Qur'ān and the prophetic *Sunna*. Of course the meaning of ijtihād is not the same in all the Sunnī schools of law or in the Shī'ī, as can be seen in the differences between the rôle played by analytical reasoning (*qiyās*) in the Ḥanafī and Shī'ī schools. But the fact that the roots of this science go back to the very origins of Islam holds true in the case of all orthodox Islamic schools.

As far as Shī'ism is concerned, the first scholars of jurisprudence, who lived from the 1st/7th to the 3rd/9th centuries, were the students of the Imāms and have not always been known specifically as jurisprudents. Some of the better-known of these, a few of whom have already been mentioned in their rôle as Qur'anic commentators and scholars of ḥadīth, include Ḥarīz b. 'Abd-Allāh al-Sijistānī, Ḥasan b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī, Ḥusain b. Sa'īd al-Ahwāzī, Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barqī al-Qummī, his son Aḥmad – who is the author of *Kitāb al-maḥāsin* –

'Alī b. Hāshim al-Qummī, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ash'arī al-Qummī (who was the teacher of al-Kulainī), 'Īsā b. Mahrān, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Īsā al-Qummī, Abū Ja'far al-Qummī – known as Ibn al-Walīd – Abū Sa'īd Sahl b. Ziyād al-Rāzī and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Iṣfahānī. During this period the centre of Shī'ism in Persia was primarily Qum, where there lived mostly Persians of Arab origin, and to a certain extent Ray.

Among the Persian jurists of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries whose works have survived and whose opinions are still discussed and transmitted are such figures as 'Alī b. Ḥusain al-Bābūya (al-Bābawaih) and his well-known son, Shaikh-i Ṣadūq, and al-'Ayyāshī al-Samarqandī, whose works were so popular in Khurāsān. Perhaps the foremost Shī'ī jurist of this age, however, was Shaikh Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī (Shaikh al-Ṭā'ifa), who is one of the pillars of the fiqh of the Ja'farī or Twelve-Imām Shī'ī school.

As for Sunnī fiqh, it can be divided, up to the 5th/11th century, into three periods: that preceding the four Imāms of the established Sunnī schools of law (*madhhabs*), the period of the four Imāms themselves and of their contemporaries and the period following them. The period before the four Imāms, which is the age of the "followers" (*tābi'īn*), is dominated by seven main figures: 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥārith b. Hishām al-Makhzūmī, Sa'īd b. Musayyib al-Makhzūmī, Qāsim b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, Khārija b. Zaid b. Thābit, 'Ubaid-Allāh b. Abd-Allāh b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd, 'Urwa b. Zubair and Sulaimān b. Yasār. Of these seven jurists (*al-fuqahā' al-sab'a*), Sulaimān b. Yasār was most likely Persian while according to traditional accounts the mother of Qāsim b. Muḥammad was the daughter of the last Sāsānian king, Yazdgard. The other five were pure Arabs. But there are two other jurists who, although not officially among the seven, were their contemporaries and held in high esteem. They are Ṭā'ūs b. Kīsān, who was a Persian residing in the Yemen and died in 104/722–3 or 106/724–5, and Rābi'at al-Ra'iy, also a Persian, who was the teacher of Mālik b. Anas. Rābi'a is said to have been the first to use qiyās, which was later adopted by Abū Ḥanīfa. He died in 136/753–4. Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and Ibn Sīrīn, who both died in 110/728–9, may be said to belong to the same class, although they were more scholars of ḥadīth and Ṣūfīs than jurists.

As for the period of the four Imāms, one of them, Abū Ḥanīfa, who is often called "the grand Imām" (*al-imām al-a'ẓam*), was Persian. His complete name is Nu'mān b. Thābit b. Nu'mān b. al-Marzubān. He

died in 150/767–8. As for Ibn Ḥanbal, although of pure Arab blood, his father lived in Persia and his mother was expecting him when she left Marv for Baghdad. Ibn Ḥanbal died in 241/855–6. During the period of the four Imāms, which lasted from the beginning of the 2nd/8th to the middle of the 3rd/9th centuries, there appeared several outstanding Persian jurists, such as 'Abd-Allāh b. Mubārak al-Marwazī, who died in 181/797–8, Sulaimān al-A'mash al-Damāwandī, who died in 148/765–6, Laith b. Sa'd al-Iṣfahānī, the jurist of Egypt who died in 175/791–2, Ḍaḥḥāk b. Muzāḥim al-Balkhī and 'Aṭā' b. Abī Muslim al-Khurāsānī, who died in 150/767–8.[1] There were also two Persians, Dā'ūd b. 'Alī al-Ẓāhirī al-Iṣfahānī, who died in 270/883–4, and Ṭabarī, the well-known historian and scholar of ḥadīth mentioned above, who established their own schools of jurisprudence, which had certain followers during the lifetimes of the founders and for some time to come. Some of their disciples are even listed by such men as Ibn al-Nadīm and Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī.

Among the Persian students of al-Shāfi'ī during the 3rd/9th century can be mentioned Abū Ja'far Muḥammad Naṣr al-Tirmidhī (d. 295/907–8), Muḥammad b. Isḥāq Sulamī al-Naishābūrī (d. 312/924–5), Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad b. Naṣr al-Marwazī (d. 294/906–7), Abū 'Alī Ḥasan b. Qāsim, and especially Qāḍī Abu'l-'Abbās al-Suraijī (d. 306/918–19).[2] Altogether there were many prominent Persian jurists who followed the school of al-Shāfi'ī during the 3rd/9th century and even later.

As for the early Persian jurists who followed the Ḥanafī school, one can mention such figures as Abū Muṭī' al-Balkhī; Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (d. 211/826–7), who studied with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaibānī, the famous student of Abū Ḥanīfa; and Muḥammad b. Muqātil al-Rāzī. In the 3rd/9th century famous Ḥanafīs include Muḥammad b. Shujā' al-Balkhī, known as Ibn al-Thaljī (d. 266/879–80), Abū 'Alī Daqqāq al-Rāzī, Abū Bakr al-Jūzjānī, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Rāzī, Abū 'Alī 'Abd-Allāh b. Ja'far al-Rāzī and Abū Sa'īd al-Bardha'ī (d. 317/929–30).

In the 4th/10th century a great many Shāfi'ī jurists continued to appear in Persia. Some of the more outstanding among them are Abū Bakr 'Abd-Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Naishābūrī, Qāḍī Abū Ḥāmid al-Marv-ar-Rūdī, Abū Zaid al-Marv-ar-Rūdī, Qāḍī Abu'l-Qāsim al-Dīnawarī, Qāḍī Abū Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī, Abū Ḥāmid al-Isfarā'inī (d. 406/1015–16) and Abū Isḥāq al-Isfarā'inī (d. 417/1026–7). There were

[1] Ṭāshkubrāzāda, p. 18.

[2] al-Shīrāzī, pp. 78–94.

also a large number of jurists who were students of al-Suraijī, such as Abū Sa'īd al-Iṣṭakhrī (d. 328/939–40), Qaffāl al-Shāshī (d. 336/947–8) and Abū Isḥāq al-Marwazī (d. 340/951–2).

During the 4th/10th century there were also several well-known Ḥanafī jurists, including Abū Bakr b. Shāhūya (Shāhwaih; d. 361/971–2), Abu'l-Ḥusain, known as Qāḍī al-Ḥaramain (d. 351/962–3), Abū Bakr Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Rāzī, known as Ḥaṣṣāṣ (d. 370/980–1), Abū Bakr al-Khwārazmī (d. 403/1012–13), Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī, Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Marwazī, who was killed in 344/955–6, Abu'l-Qāsim, known as Ḥākim al-Samarqandī (d. 342/953–4), Abū Ja'far al-Hindawānī (d. 362/972–3), Abū Ḥāmid al-Marwazī, known as Ibn al-Ṭabarī, Abū Bakr al-Jurjānī, Abu'l-Laith al-Samarqandī (d. 383/993–4) and Abu'l-Haitham Qāḍī al-Naishābūrī.

The Mālikī school had very few followers in Persia, being confined mostly to the Maghrib of Islam and having some adherents in Medina and occasionally Egypt. In his *Ṭabaqāt al-mufassirīn*, al-Suyūṭī tells the story that Aḥmad b. Fāris b. Zakariyyā' al-Lughawī was first a Shāfi'ī and later became a Mālikī, giving as reason for this change his feeling sorry for Imām Mālik, who did not have a single follower among jurists in Ray.

Likewise, the Ḥanbalī school had very few adherents in Iran and Persian jurists of this madhhab are rare. Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī considers Abū Bakr al-Marwazī (d. 275/888–9) and Abū Dā'ūd al-Sijistānī (d. 275/888–9) as Ḥanbalites.[1] Also Ibn al-Nadīm writes that Isḥāq b. Rāhūya (Rāhawaih) was a Ḥanbalī jurist.

The Ẓāhirite school, founded by Dā'ūd al-Iṣfahānī, as can be expected also had some followers among Persian jurists, including Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Kāshānī, Abū 'Alī al-Samarqandī, Qāḍī Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Kharazī and Qāḍī Abu'l-Faraj al-Shīrāzī. Abū Isḥāq al-Shīrāzī writes in fact that even after the Ẓāhirite school became extinct in Baghdad it continued to have some followers in Shīrāz, students of Abu'l-Faraj al-Shīrāzī.

In the seventh section of the sixth chapter of *al-Fihrist* Ibn al-Nadīm mentions a few followers of the juridical school of Ṭabarī, including 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dūlābī, Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥulwānī al-Ṭabarī and Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm al-Ṭabarī, all of whom lived in the 4th/10th century. Altogether there were few followers of this and the other Sunnī schools save the Shāfi'ī and the Ḥanafī, which were very widespread at

[1] al-Shīrāzī, p. 104.

this time, the Shāfi'īs being centred mostly in Fārs, Iṣfahān, Ray and Ṭabaristān, and the Ḥanafīs in Khurāsān and Transoxiana.

V. THEOLOGY

If by kalām we mean rational discussion of religious questions, it can be said that this discipline goes back to the first Islamic century, although the word kalām itself was not used until the 2nd/8th century. At this time in the Sunnī world Mālik b. Anas opposed the scholars of Kalām referring to them as "*mutakallimūn*" and in Shī'ism certain of the companions of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq such as Ḥamrān b. A'yan, Mu'min al-Ṭāq, Qais b. al-Māṣir and Hishām b. al-Ḥakam were also called "*mutakallim*".[1]

The Qur'ān itself provides in many places intellectual evidence and demonstration for its arguments and is the example for all later developments of Islamic religious sciences in which rational arguments are provided for articles and principles of faith. Also, among the Companions, 'Alī was known especially for his intellectual discourses upon questions of metaphysics, cosmology and eschatology, examples of which are found especially in the *Nahj al-balāgha*. Thus many have considered him the founder of Kalām in its specifically Islamic sense as well as the other "intellectual sciences" which deal with the origin and end (*al-mabda' wa'l-ma'ād*) of things. Likewise in the sayings of the other Shī'ī Imāms, particularly Zain al-'Ābidīn al-Sajjād, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and 'Alī al-Riḍā, there are numerous intellectual proofs and demonstrations, which have given a particularly intellectual character to Shī'ī religious and theological thought throughout its history. That is why whenever Shī'ism has been dominant there has been a more favourable climate for the cultivation of the "intellectual sciences" (*al-'ulūm al-'aqliyya*).

Some have thought that the Persian ethnic element has been the only determining factor in providing a more congenial background for the development of the intellectual sciences and particularly philosophy in Persia. But a closer examination of the situation will reveal that also a most important determining factor making Persia the main homeland of Islamic philosophy was the more favourable attitude of Shī'ism toward the intellectual sciences. It must always be remembered that the Persian Sunnī scholars of ḥadīth such as Bukhārī, Muslim and Tirmidhī

[1] al-Kulainī, p. 171.

display the same attitude towards the intellect (*al-'aql*) as the Arab Sunnī scholars.

Shī'ī kalām was discussed generally by the Imāms in the sessions of instruction held with their disciples, but certain among these disciples became known officially as *mutakallims*, such men as 'Alī b. Ismā'īl b. al-Maitham al-Tammār. His grandfather was a Persian from Bahrain known as an orator. 'Alī b. Ismā'īl himself is considered the first formal Shī'ī theologian. Another early Persian Shī'ī theologian is Hishām b. Sālim al-Jūzjānī, who is well-known as a transmitter of ḥadīth and who was a disciple of Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. Also well-known as theologians are certain members of the Naubakht family, such men as Abū Sahl Ismā'īl b. 'Alī, his brother Abū Ja'far, his nephew Ḥasan b. Mūsā, who wrote *Firaq al-shi'a*, Faḍl b. Abī Sahl, who was in charge of the *Bait al-ḥikma* and translated several works from Pahlavī into Arabic, Isḥāq b. Abī Sahl, his son Ismā'īl b. Isḥāq and several others.

Other Persian Shī'ī theologians of this early period include Faḍl b. Shādhān, already mentioned above, who was a contemporary of Imām Riḍā and transmitted many of the Imām's sayings, Abu'l-Ḥasan Sūsangirdī, who was a slave of Abū Sahl al-Naubakhtī, and Ibn Qibba al-Rāzī, who was a contemporary of al-Ka'bī (3rd/9th century) and who carried out theological debates with him.[1] Also well known during this period is Abū 'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad, known as Hishām al-Jawālīqī, who was originally from Gurgān but lived in Iṣfahān and who was a contemporary of al-Jubbā'ī, therefore living in the 3rd/9th century.

In the 4th/10th century Shī'ī theologians are not as numerous if we confine ourselves to men who were only theologians and do not take into account such figures as Kulainī and Ibn Bābūya, who were first and foremost scholars of ḥadīth but theologians as well. Of the former group, namely those who contributed to religious studies mainly in the field of theology, one can name Abū 'Alī b. Muskūya (Miskawaih), who died in 431/1039–40. He is of course best known as a philosopher and physician, but in terms of his specifically religious works he must be considered a leading Shī'ī theologian of his day. One may also mention as an important theologian of the period Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Kharrāz al-Rāzī, author of the *Kifāyat al-athar*, who was a student of Ibn Bābūya.

As far as Persian scholars of Sunnī kalām are concerned one must begin with Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, who was both Ṣūfī and theologian, as well

[1] Ibn Nadīm, pp. 439, 441.

as his student Wāṣil b. ʿAṭāʾ al-Ghazzāl (d. 131/748–9), who, as is well known, began the Muʿtazilite school as a movement which broke off from the circle of Ḥasan. After these two early figures the important Persian Sunnī theologians are as follows:

1. Abu'l-Hudhail al-ʿAllāf, whom some have considered as the founder of systematic Sunnī kalām. Abu'l-Hudhail was well acquainted with philosophical arguments and carried out a well-known debate with Ṣāliḥ b. ʿAbd al-Quddūs al-Shakkāk (the Sceptic), which Ibn al-Nadīm has recounted. He had a Zoroastrian (*majūs*) secretary named Mīlās and through him a religious debate was arranged with Zoroastrian scholars in which Abu'l-Hudhail triumphed, and it is said that Mīlās and thousands of Zoroastrians were thus converted to Islam. Abu'l-Hudhail died in 235/849–50 during the rule of al-Mutawakkil.[1]

2. Ibrāhīm b. Sayyār, known as al-Naẓẓām, who was a student of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam. He was known particularly for his keen intelligence and must be considered as one of the basic figures of Muʿtazilite kalām. His views on the nature of bodies and of colour and smell were well known to both theologians and philosophers of the later period. Naẓẓām was originally from Balkh. He was a nephew of Abu'l-Hudhail and died in 221/836–7.

3. Abū ʿAlī al-Jubbāʾī, from Khūzistān (b. 235/849–50; d. 303/915–16), was the head of the Muʿtazilite school of Baṣra and the teacher of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī, who rebelled against his teachings and established the Ashʿarite school.

4. Abu'l-Qāsim al-Kaʿbī al-Balkhī (d. 317/929–30), whose views are repeated so often in books on kalām as well as on philosophy and jurisprudence.

5. ʿAmr b. ʿUbaid b. al-Bāb, who had Khārijite tendencies and was a contemporary of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr.

6. Ibn al-Munajjim, who was the chamberlain of the caliphs al-Muwaffaq and al-Muktafī and himself a descendant of the last Sāsānian king, Yazdgard.

7. Ibn Fadrik al-Iṣfahānī, both orator and theologian (d. 406/1015–16).

8. Abū Manṣūr al-Māturīdī al-Samarqandī (d. 333/944–5), who established a new school of kalām with views in many ways intermediate between those of the Muʿtazilites and the Ashʿarīs.

The Persians also made major contributions to other branches of the

[1] Amīn, vol. 1, p. 379, and Shahristānī, vol. 1, p. 71.

Islamic sciences such as literature, philosophy, the natural and mathematical sciences, Ṣūfism, etc., which have been treated elsewhere and need not be repeated here. But the universality of the Persian contribution to all facets of Islamic learning must be kept in mind in any study of the relationship between Persia and Islamic civilization.

The extensive efforts of Persian scholars in helping to lay the foundation of so many of the Islamic sciences during the early period continued with the same force into the Saljuq and Tīmūrid periods. So many of the works of this later period which are to this day standard texts in Muslim *madrasas*, both Sunnī and Shī'ī, works of such men as Ghazzālī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Zamakhsharī, Baiḍāwī, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, Taftazānī, Sayyid Sharīf al-Jurjānī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, to cite just a few of the better known names, are connected with the Persian world. Ghazzālī alone would be sufficient to underline the significance of the contribution of Persia to Islamic civilization, in the same way that a figure such as he is also an outstanding example of the result of the downpouring of the grace of the Qur'anic revelation upon the soil of Persia.

The history of Persia cannot be understood without grasping the depth of penetration of and the subsequent transformation brought about by the Islamic revelation in Persia. Likewise, the rôle of Persia in the construction of Islamic civilization can never be understood if one confines this rôle to the production of a few extremist sects that stood at the margin of the Islamic religious panorama. As some of the names cited in the present chapter show, the Persians participated in the creation of the mainstream of the Islamic sciences in a direct and central manner, and all that we identify with classical, orthodox Islam in both its Sunnī and Shī'ī aspects would be unimaginable in its existing historical form without the extensive efforts of Persian scholars, who worked along with Arab scholars in creating that vast world of Islamic learning to which other peoples also became subsequent heirs and contributors. For this reason the rôle of Persia in the elaboration of Islamic civilization and the Islamic sciences has remained central throughout Islamic history.

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Volume Editor's Note

The bibliographies printed below are selective and not intended to be complete; in general they include those works used by each author in the preparation of his chapter. It has not been possible to check the source references of all authors, especially where rare editions of texts have been used. As a rule books and articles superseded by later publications have not been included.

The abbreviations and short titles used in the bibliographies are listed below.

AA	*Arts asiatiques* (Paris)
AESC	*Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations* (Paris)
AGNT	*Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* (Leipzig)
AGWG	*Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Berlin)
AI	*Ars Islamica* (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
AIEO	*Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales* (Paris–Algiers)
AIUON	*Annali, Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (Naples)
AJSLL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (Chicago)
ANS	American Numismatic Society
ANSMN	*American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* (New York)
ANSNNM	*American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (New York)
ANSNS	*American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies* (New York)
AO	*Ars Orientalis* (continuation of *Ars Islamica*) (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
BAIPAA	*Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology* (New York)
BGA	*Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, 8 vols. (Leiden)
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* (Cairo)
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London)
EI	*Encyclopedia of Islam* (Leiden)
GMS	"E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" series (Leiden–London)
IA	*Iranica Antiqua* (Leiden)
IC	*Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad)
IQ	*Islamic Quarterly* (London)
Iran	*Iran* (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London–Tehrān)
Iraq	*Iraq* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)

IS	*Islamic Studies* (journal of the Central Institute of Islamic Studies, Karachi) (Karachi)
Der Islam	*Der Islam* (Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients) (Berlin)
JA	*Journal asiatique* (Paris)
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York)
JESHO	*Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (continuation of *American Journal of Semitic Languages*) (Chicago)
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies* (Manchester)
MRASB	*Memoirs of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta)
MSOS	*Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen* (Berlin)
MW	*Muslim World* (Hartford, Conn.)
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
NHR	Miles, G. C. *The Numismatic History of Rayy*. New York, 1938 (*ANSNS*, vol. II)
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna)
RENLO	*Revue de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales* (Paris)
RFLM	*Revue de la Faculté des Lettres de Meched* (Mashhad)
RFLT	*Revue de la Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Téhéran* (Tehrān)
RN	*Revue numismatique* (Paris)
SBWAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna)
Syria	*Syria* (revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)

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